# ASEAN Aims To Hold Its Own at Talks In Seattle

By Michael Richardson ional Herald Tribune-.

KUALA LUMPUR - Southeast Asian countries, apprehensive about possible domi-nation by the United States and worned by divisions within their own ranks, will seek to reassert control over the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum when ministers from the group meet in Seattle on Wednesday.

Analysts said that by acting together, members of ASEAN, the Association of South East Asian Nations, have the authority to ensure that no decision on trade or any other issue is made by the forum without their approval.

Officials said Tuesday that the six ASEAN countries — Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei — have agreed that the forum, known as APEC, should remain a loose consultative body and not evolve m to a trade negotiating body.

In discussions to develop a common position before the APEC foreign and trade ministers meet, ASEAN countries also agreed that it would be premature to endorse any proposal to create a Pacific free-trade area. Officials said that in adopting this position,

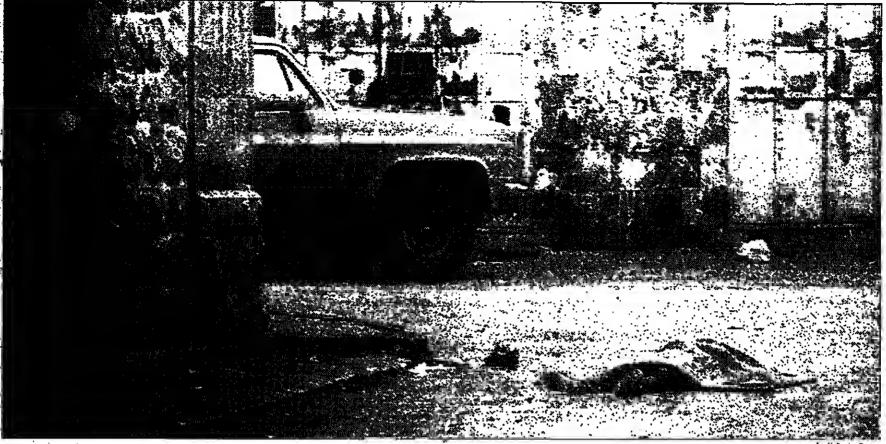
ASEAN wanted to ensure that no action was taken by the 15-member APEC forum that. would weaken the global trading system and strengthen the trend toward regional economic

Officials said that ASEAN also wanted to preempt any move by the United States or Australia to open rapidly growing East Asian markets to their exports at a faster rate than was acceptable to countries in the region, many

of which have relatively high tariff barriers. The members of APEC are the United States, xan, China, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the six ASEAN countries.

ASEAN officials said that at a recent meeting in Jakarta, Ali Alatas, Indonesia's foreign minister, cautioned Prime Minister Paul Keat ing of Australia not to force the pace of trade liberalization in APEC because it would only

See APEC, Page 13



An Israeli soldier Monday near the body of a Palestinian killed in Hebron, in the West Bank, by an Israeli settler. Two Palestinians had reportedly attacked the settler with axes.

# Make-or-Break Time for a Popular Hosokawa

TOKYO - After 100 days in office, Japan's new coalition government rates as a major success in terms of style and public appeal. But this week, Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa is facing his first major test on matters of substance as he tries to pass his political reform package. Responding to voters so fed up with corruption that they

ended four decades of one-party rule last summer, Mr. Hosokawa has promised to pass major new election laws this year. To do that, be probably has to get the bills through the lower house of the Diet, or parliament, by the end of this

If he succeeds, the immensely popular Mr. Hosokawa will enhance his power even further. With that extra clout, he will

probably be able to achieve other long-delayed changes, including opening the rice market and revamping tax laws. Failure, in contrast, could conceivably prompt a new national

[Mr. Hosokawa failed early Tuesday to reach a compromise with the opposition leader. Yohei Kono, to ensure smooth passage of the reform package, Reuters reported from Tokyo, Regretfully, we could not reach an agreement," Mr. Hosokawa said after talks with Mr. Kono, who is president of the Liberal Democratic Party. "I felt we could not tear down the wall between us."

[Mr. Hosokawa said he had told Mr. Kono that his coalition would put the package to a vote in the Diet before Friday, Mr. Hosokawa is then scheduled to go to Seattle to attend an Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit meeting.]

Mr. Hosokawa's political situation today, in short, is not unlike that of a friend, President Bill Clinton, who needs a victory on the North American Free Trade Agreement. Mr. Hosokawa needs a victory on political change, Success will give each man a powerful lift going into the Asian-Pacific meeting in Seattle, where Pacific Rim nations will discuss

trade and other economic issues. The Japanese prime minister is riding a wave of popularity. When Mr. Hosokawa's coalition government - the first government in 38 years not formed by the pro-business Liberal Democratic Party - reached its 100th day in office last weekend, news reports noted that the coalinon had higher proval ratings than any Japanese government in decades, National polls say the government approval rating is

See JAPAN, Page 5

# Seattle, Where Age of the Pacific Dawns City, Host to Asian Leaders, Is Forming a Hybrid Society

By Timothy Egan

SEATTLE - A visitor to Scattle, the largest city in a mythical land called Cascadia, arrives at the airport and is whisked to a baggage area m a subway where the robot voice speaks Japa-nese as well as two other tongues. About 140 miles north of here, Vancouver, British Columbia, is about to become the first large city in . North America with an Asian majority.

When President Bill Clinton and the leaders of the major countries of the Pacific Rim arrive in Seattle this week, they will find themselves in a land where two worlds an ocean apart are forming a hybrid society.

Cascadia, a realm that seems to be moving well beyond the imagination of the original dreamers, stretches from the rain forests of British Columbia to the pinot noir country of southern Oregon. It is a region united by geography, a distrust of the powers "back East" and

is already here, giving the edge of the continent a polygiot character that goes beyond its quirki-

ness and trademark gray skies.
"We are less Atlantic in our preoccupation than any other part of the nation," said Bob Kapp, executive director of the Scattle-based Washington Council on International Trade.

"Asians are just not exotic to most people who live here; they are not seen as a threat, said Mr. Kapp, who helped to persuade the State Department to select Seattle as the host U.S. city for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

Cabinet ministers of the forum's 15 member nations, including the United States and Canada and the powerful economies of the Pacific Rim, will gather here Wednesday and meet Thursday. Leaders of those nations, many of which have healthy trade relationships with the

a shared vision that the future lies across the Pacific Northwest, will meet Saturday on an

island in Puget Sound. of the Kingdome is the home of the Mariners.

the only major league baseball team owned in large part by a Japanese investor.

Earlier this month, the voters in King County - the 12th-largest county in the nation elected a Chinese-American, Gary Locke, as

the county executive. An Asian immigrant from Hong Kong, David Lam, is now winding up his term as the lientenant governor of British Columbia, Queen Elizabeth II's official representative in

A backlash of sorts has developed in British Columbia against the heavy influx of Asians, who make up about 30 percent of Vancouver. And immigration was an issue in the recent Canadian election. In Scattle, Asians are the

See SUMMIT, Page 4

### Kiosk

### U.S. Offers to Sell 20 F-15Es to Israel

Down 6.99 3,677.5 The Dollar New York DM Pound	nes	i rip ingex
6.99 3,677	52	Down 0.64% 109.53
	Mon, close	previous close
DM	1.6935	1.6848
Pound	1.4885	1.4923
Yen	106,685	105.685
EE	5.878	5.867

Business/Finance

Germany's 'wise men' say another recession is more likely than a recovery. Page 9. Baby Bell phone companies can keep their information services. Page 9.

Book Review

of the advanced F-15Es made by McDonnell Douglas, additional F-16s made hy Lockheed or the F/A-18, also made by Mc-Donnell Douglas.

**General News** In Sarajevo, as another winter begins, despair has overcome bone.

U.S. Environmental activists are split over the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The Unit-

billion, but no decision has been made on whether Israel will buy the expensive war-

planes, U.S. defense officials said Mooday.

deciding whether to huy a modified version

The officials said Israel was apparently

# **Arafat Aide** Is Murdered In Southern Lebanon Port

### Fatah Officials See Campaign to Liquidate Leading PLO Loyalists

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatche

BEIRUT - A senior official of Yasser Arafat's mainstream El Fatah faction was assassinated Monday in what is seen as part of a liquidation campaign against the PLO leader's loyalists in Lebanor

Lieutenant Colonel Moin Shabayta was driv-ing his Volkswagen on Abra Road just outside the southern port city of Sidon, when unidentified gunmen in a Mercedes behind him opened fire with automatic machine-guns, exploding his tires and forcing his vehicle off the road.

El Fatah's intelligence chief, Abu Hossein Farhoud, mld reporters in Sidon that "a liquidation campaign is being conducted against Fatah leaders in Lebanon." He did not elabo-

Last week an attempt was made on the life of Zeid Wehbe, Mr. Arafat's top political officer in Lebanon. He was wounded and is still hospitalized in Sidon.

There was no immediate claim of responsi

The shonting occurred as Palestinians and Israelis reopened talks in Cairo to work out details of an Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho on the West Bank.

The negotiations are being conducted in extreme secrecy, reflecting complaints by the chief Palestinian negoriator, Nabil Shaath, that news media interfered with the talks before they broke down Nov. 2.

In the West Bank town of Hebron, mean while, a Jewish settler shot to death one of two Palestinians who attacked him with axes. In retaliation for the attack, Hebron settlers reportedly stoned several Arab-owned cars, beat six Palestinians and blocked a road with boul-

The violence was the latest in a series of attacks on settlers since the Sept. 13 pact was signed, and goes to the heart of the their complaint that the accord does not look out for their welfare.

The talks between the PLO and Israel are resuming less than a month before Israel is to begin pulling out its troops and turning over security in Gaza and Jericho to Palestinians under the PLO-Israel accord.

The accord calls for the withdrawal to begin Dec. 13 and be completed by mid-April. The two areas are to serve as a model for a wider peace agreement later between Israel and the

Colonel Shabayta was the first PLO official killed in Lebanon since the PLO and Israel signed the peace pact. Radical Palestinian groups have vowed to wreck the accord.

Mr. Wehbe accused "Israeli agents" of the attack. El Fatah sources said they believed that radical Palestinians opposed to the PLO-Israeli peace accord, followers of Abu Nidal, were

behind the attack. El Fatah officials in Lebanon refer to members of Mr. Nidal's Fatah Revolutionary Coun-

cil as agents of the Israeli secret service Mossad. In Washington, the State Department coofirmed that Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher would go to the Middle East next month in try to mediate differences over the accord. Mr. Christopher also will try to finalize a separate accord between Israel and Jordan and

See ATTACK, Page 4

# A Tug-of-War In U.S. on Offer By North Korea

By R. Jeffrey Smith

Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — The State Department is urging President Bill Clinton to accept a North Korean offer to allow new international inspections of some of its nuclear installations in exchange for the cancellation of an animal United States military exercise in South Korea,

according to American officials.

The goal of the proposed agreement is to end a crisis caused by North Korea's refusal to let inspectors visit plants at which North Korean scientists could conduct nuclear-bomb-related work, the officials said. Under the deal, experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency would revisit various sites at the country's Yongbyon anciear complex, from which they have been barred since last spring.
The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Defense

Department are strongly opposed to the deal, however, because it would not include any promise by North Korea to allow future agency access to two sites suspected of harboring n clear wastes from past bomb-related work.

Such access has long been a U.S. condition for canceling the annual military exercise.

Officials said the interagency dispute is to be discussed at a meeting at the White House involving Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, Defense Secretary Les Aspin, the White House national security adviser, J. Anthony Lake, and others. The goal is to "step back and look at where are we are" and how "we proceed from here," an official said. American officials said the matter must be

See KOREA, Page 5

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WORLD CUP MADNESS — Policemen in Seville, Spain, attempting to maintain order Monday as soccer fans sought tickets to the
World Cup qualifying match between Spain and Demmark. Spain needs to win to compete in the '94 finals. World Cup articles, Page 19.

The memo from Mr. Hoover's aide, Cartha DeLoach, suggested that the criticisms were

### The JFK Assassination: With Years, More Blanks Criticism of CIA and the FBI Mounts

By George Lardner Jr. and Walter Pincus

Washington Past Service
WASHINGTON — In October 1964, two weeks after the Warren Commission issued its report on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, received an internal memo listing the many criticisms of the FBI for not paying enough attention to Lee Harvey Oswald before he shot Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Oswald, who once had defected to the Soviet Union, had long been a familiar figure to both the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency. In fact, Mr. Oswald had walked min the FBI's office in Dallas just two weeks before the president was killed to complain that the bureau was harassing his Russian wife.

sion & initiative," he wrote at the bottom of the Del oach memo. In another note, written a few days earlier, he had referred to the criticisms

really inconsequential and that the complaints would die down.

live down this smear, which could have been so

easily avoided if there had been proper supervi-

Mr. Hoover disagreed. "The FBI will never

not as a "smear," but as a "real debunking of In the three decades since Mr. Kennedy's death on Nov. 22, 1963, criticism of the FBI and the CIA for their performance both before

and after the killing has increased, overshadow-ing genuine investigative breakthroughs in the early aftermath of the assassination. utes after Mr. Kennedy was killed on charges of slaying a police officer two miles (3 kilometers) from the assassination site. For the next two days — until a Dallas nightclub owner, Jack Ruhy, fatally shot Mr. Oswald on Nov. 24 as Mr. Oswald was being moved through the base-

ment of the Dallas police headquarters - the

investigation moved swiftly, perhaps too swift-So convinced were the FBI and the CIA that Mr. Oswald was their man that, as soon as the suspect himself was dead, they began moving to close the case down. Officials at both agencies seemed more interested in covering up their own shortcomings and knowledge of secrets that could have relevance to the president's murder than they were in casting a wide net for a possible conspiracy. Their failures provided

fertile ground for conspiracy theories. According to records, some newly made pubbe as the 30th anniversary of the assassination approaches, and related interviews, the FBI was scrambling for information for the first few hours after the Democratic president was killed at 12:30 P.M. Dallas time. Immediate suspicion fell on the far right, and at the FBI office in Dallas, an agent, James P. Hosty Jr., was assigned to draw up a list of possible suspects from far-right organizations and racist groups.

Suddenly a supervisor put down the tele-See JFK. Page 4

# In Luxembourg, Drug Money Goes Down Legal Drain

By Barry James onal Herold Tribune

So far as Luxembourg is concerned, crime sometimes pays. Luxembourg's Supreme Court ruled Monday that \$36 milfion in ill-gotten gains of a Colombian narcotics lord should be handed back to his former wife.

The money was deposited in 1991 in scores of bank accounts across Europe by Heriberto Castro Meza, an octogenarian confined to a wheelchair and suffering from Parkinson's Disease. Although the money was in Mr. Castro Meza's name, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, for one, never had any doubt that it came from the narcotics empire of the Cali (Colombia) cocaine baron José Santacruz Londoño.

Mr. Londono at the time was married to Mr. Castro Meza's daughter, Amparo, who accompanied her father on the 1991 trip to Europe, shortly before he died. The Supreme Court of Appeals said Monday that she should get the cash, since the accounts were in Mr. Castro Meza's name and she is his heir.

Colombians linked to Mr. Londono and charged with laundering the money. A lower court, sentencing two of the men to jail last year, said Luxembourg could not seize the cash because it was in not in their names. At their trial, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency testified that the money was profit from Mr. Londono's cocaine cartel.

Luxembourg has since closed the loophole that forbade the confiscation of money belonging to anyone not convicted of a crime in Luxembourg, like Mr. Castro Meza and Mr. Londoño. But the Supreme Court said the law could not be applied retroactively to this case, even though it had no doubt the money came from drug profits.

Mrs. Londono will not see the money immediately, because the United States also is demanding the money through a legal mechanism known as a rogatory commission. Its demand will be heard by the Supreme Court in January.

the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency to arrest Mr. Londono during the 1990 World Football Cup in Italy.

The trail led to a Harvard University economics graduate and former informant for the U.S. agency, Franklin Jurado, who administered the accounts opened by Mr. Castro Meza. He received a four-and-a-half-year prison sentence in 1992, along with Edgar Garcia, who got a five-year sentence on a laundering charge.

The third defendant, Ricardo Mahecha, was acquitted for lack of evidence, extradited at the request of the United States, then allowed to return to Colombia, the Dispatch said.

The \$36 million is a fraction of the \$85 billion in illegal funds that are laundered every year in Europe and the United States. according to the estimate of the International Financial Action Task Force established by the Group of Seven in 1989.

Luxembourg adopted a money-laundering law in 1989, but In the counts were in Mr. Castro Meza's name and she is his heir.

In its annual report, the Geopolitical Drug Dispatch, a critical have said that it is full of holes. At the same time, the narcotics monitoring organization in Paris, said the arrest of three counts were in Mr. Castro Meza's name and she is his heir.

Linembourg blocked the funds after the arrest of three colombians followed an unsuccessful operation by critics have said that it is full of holes. At the same time, the By John F. Burns

(The writer of this article recently completed a 17-month assignment in Sarajevo.)

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina -From a balcony of one of the apartment blocks in the suburb of Dobrinja, neigh-bors watched aghast one day last month as a middle-aged man walked into an area of open ground that has been under sniper fire since the siege of Sarajevo began 19 months ago.

As one witness described it, the man, a Muslim, turned toward the Serbian gun positions and beckoned, inviting the city's attackers to open fire.

The guns stayed silent. To shouts from others in the area, the man was eventually saved hy Bosnian Muslim soldiers who tackled the man and pulled him away.

As Sarajevo enters its second winter of war, despair has triumphed over hope among many of the 300,000 remaining inhabitants. After nearly 600 days under siege, almost nobody believes anymore that the outside world will act to end the misery of Serhian shelling and sniping, the hunger that is only partly relieved by meager food packages distributed by the Unit-ed Nations, or the hiting cold of houses and hospitals that have no heating.

People no longer approach reporters and relief workers, as they did insistently earlier in the siege, to ask when "Bush" or "Clinton" would come to the city's rescue. Belief in the United States, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in the European Community, has wasted away, replaced by hitterness over what many here regard as Western hypocrisy.

United States fighter-bombers still patrol over Bosnia from aircraft carriers in the Adriatic Sea, screaming low over Serbian gun batteries. But these days the roar of the jet engines is more likely to elicit angry gestures toward the sky from vic-tims of the siege, and expletives directed at President Bill Clinton.

In a city in which at least 80 percent of the inhabitants are Muslims, even moderates have begun to offer an explanation for Western inaction that was once confined

to hard-line Muslim clerics. For months, worshipers at Friday prayers in the mosques have been told that the Serbian nationalists, who are Eastern Orthodox Catholics, are the Crusaders of the 20th century, set on purging the Muslim faith that took root bere with the conquest

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of Bosnia by the Ottoman Turks in the 15th century

"Why? Why? Is it because we are Muslims?" Haris Šilajdzic, the new prime minister in the Muslim-led Bosnian govern-

ment, asked bitterly during an interview. For 18 months Mr. Silajdzic, 48, toured Western capitals as foreign minister to put the case for military intervention - or at least the lifting of a UN arms embargo that has locked in the huge Serbian weap-

ons advantage. This spring and summer, the government appeared to be on the verge of success in its diplomatic effort when Mr.

Second of two articles

Clinton warned Serbian nationalists of air strikes if they continued to batter Saraje-

But each time he made the threat, the initiative foundered. Seemingly convinced that only Western intervention could deny them victory, Serbian nationalists eased their attacks on Muslim enclaves long enough after each warning for Western reluctance to replace Western threats.

Since then, the government has all but stopped appealing for help. Asked what hope of survival he could offer the 2.3 million people, mostly Muslims, who live in the slivers of territory that Bosnian forces control, Mr. Silajdzic smiled wanly

and shrugged.

The sense of helplessness in Sarajevo and in the half-dozen other predominantly Muslim towns under Serbian siege has been offset by a run of victories by govern-ment troops in central Bosnia, north and west of the capital.

But the successes have not come against

None of the recent victories have brought the Serbian forces, whose overwhelming military superiority was guaranteed when the Yugoslav Army handed over its battal-ions in Bosnia to the Serbian nationalists

at the outset of the war. Instead, the Muslim-led government forces, backed by self-styled mujahidin volunteers from Muslim countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, have been gaining ground against the Croatian na-tionalists, which had formed a nominal alliance with the government earlier in the war. Eventually, the Croatians broke with the Bosnian Army in a headlong drive to seize as much land as possible for eventual

annexation to Croatia. fn towns like Bugojno, Gornji Vakuf, Travnik and most recently Vares, the government forces have given Croats a beat-ing. But the boost to Muslim morale has been limited, in part because the ground gained is small in comparison to the losses suffered in "ethnic cleansing" by Serbian forces to empty Bosnian towns of Mus-

Satisfaction among Muslims is also tem-pered by the knowledge that their own offensives have been accompanied by atrocities against Croatian civilians that are similar to those suffered by Muslims at the hands of the Serbians and Croatians.

"I can hardly bear to watch it," said Faruk Kulenovic, a Sarajevo surgeon who has seen Western television reports of apparent Muslim massacres in central Bosnia. "Are we, finally, to become no better than our enemies?

But more than anything, the Bosnian Army offensives have failed to ignite much enthusiasm because there seems little prospect that Muslim gains will reduce the advantage held by Serbian nationalists.

### Bosnia to Sue U.K. for Carnage

By Paul Taylor

Washington Post Service
JOHANNESBURG — The Af-

rican National Congress has won a string of 11th-hour victories in South Africa's apartheid-to-de-

mocracy talks, scheduled to con-

In a frenzied endgame to negoti-

ations that began two years ago, the

ANC has won concessions from the

government on issues ranging from language policy to civil-service

pension protection to the composi-

tion of a new constitutional court.

has been draining away from the lame-duck white government and toward the black-led ANC as the

country prepares for its first all-

That shift has raised fears in

some quarters — among liberals as well as conservatives, blacks as well as whites — that the ANC-domi-

nated government expected to be

elected next April 27 will not be adequately constrained by consti-

tutional checks and balances.

These fears have been heightened

by the growing assumption, sup-

ported by a wave of new polls, that the ANC is headed for a lopsided

"This is no time for the govern-

ment to cave in," said Peter Soal, a

Democratic Party negotiator and

lifelong foe of the white minority

government. "We're in the last

electoral victory

Its successes reflect how power

UNITED NATIONS, New York -Bosnia's government said Monday that it would sue Britain in the International Court of Justice for failing to prevent genocide in the former Yugoslav republic.

Mohammed Sacirbey, Bosnia's ambassador at the United Nations, said evidence of Britain's guilt would be presented to the court, which sits at The Hague in the Netherlands. He declined to elaborate. Other countries also are suspect, but the Bosnian ambassador said Britain was be-

ing singled out because it has "been at the forefront of maintaining the arms embar-20 and at the forefront of resisting tougher measures to prevent the genocide."

The action reflected the Sarajevo goverament's increasing frustration at efforts to end the war that has ravaged Bosnia. Britain has so far received no official notification of Bosnia's plans to sue, according to the Foreign Office, A Foreign Office spokesman said Britain did not regard breaking the arms embargo as the way forward to peace.

Muslim units any closer to challenging the strangleholds on Sarajevo, Gorazde, Maglaj, Tesanj, Srebrenica or Zepa.

Now, as they have since the beginning of the war, Muslim leaders in the government are reduced to hoping that the seem-ingly unassailable Serbian military advanrage will collapse because of political upheaval in Belgrade, where President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia has planned, armed and financed the nationalist campaign in Bosnia.

But Mr. Silaidzic and others believe this is improbable, given the absence of a powerful opposition in Serbia.

"We'd like to think it would happen," he said. "But can anybody say that is For now, as the first snows settle on the

hills around Sarajevo, it is likely that the hving conditions, already as grim as any experienced by Europeans since World

War II, will get still worse.

Although Serbian nationalist leaders have repeatedly said that the 70 percent of Bosnia they control is all they need, there are other signs that their intention may be

the opposite.
For weeks, United Nations military observers have reported fresh convoys of Serbian armor moving into position along the winding corniche above Sarajevo. Tanks, self-propelled howitzers and trucks towing twin-barreled anti-aircraft guns, which Serbian troops use against ground targets, are parked in clearings above gun emplacements, positioned behind the earthen embankments and wrecked automobiles that prevent passers-by from sec-

ing the batteries themselves. As if Serbian leaders were testing to see if the warnings issued by President Clin-ton remain in effect, the gun batteries have remained mostly silent for days at a time, suddenly opening up in fierce barrages around the clock before falling silent

again.
On some days last month, thousands of shells struck the city, adding scores of mostly civilian casualties to the toll of at least 12,000 killed and 56,000 wounded in

Serbian soldiers along the roads that flank the gun positions say their com-manders have told them that a second winter in the mud and cold of the mountainsides will not be in vain because Sarajevo, too, will soon be added to the parts of Bosnia under Serbian control.

ed constitutional court.

the future regions.

The new constitutional court will

wield enormous power to decide

seminal questions, including how

The question of whether a demo-cratic South Africa should be gov-

from its original position that all

power should flow from the center,

but its support for a court con-

trolled by the center could render

In recent days, the ANC has also won a high-profile bargaining vic-tory on the awarding of state pen-

sions. Having agreed to protect the pensions and job security of virtually all current civil servants, the ANC more recently negotiated a

provision allowing the next govern-

ment to award pensions to anti-

apartheid lighters for the years

that arrangement "outrageous" and questioned why others who

fought apartheid in different ways

spent in exile or underground.

that concession meaningless

the ANC backed awa

South African Endgame: The ANC Gains

make sure there is an effective a panel of jurists, to appoint judges to South Africa's soon-to-be-creat-

fragile new democracy likely to be to divide the powers that democra-

black-led government was never re- from the regions has been the most

alistically going to come from ne-contentious issue of the talks. Last

26 parties, representing the white right and conservative black home-

On the other hand, the prospect

of a muscular ANC government is welcomed by some who say it of-

fers the best chance of preserving a

buffered by angry anti-democratic forces on the right and the left.

These analysis argue that con-

straint on the power of the first

**NEWS ANALYSIS** 

gotiated guarantees, but from the

potential of the white minority to

undermine the economy, the civil

Other analysts say that despite

the controversies over agreements

reached, the talks have served the

future government well, by creating

a culture of negotiation and nurtur-

ing a climate of political trust

That does not mean, of course, that all parties are satisfied with the

fruits of the talk. Four months ago,

the entire right flank of the democ-

racy negotiating forum - 5 of the

land groups — walked out. Now the liberal Democratic Party is

lifelong foe of the white minority government. "We're in the last hours of the talks, and we need to hours of the white minority alts beef is with a tentative agree-should not also be given pensions.

On language policy, the ANC won agreement for 11 "official" Its beef is with a tentative agree-ment that would empower South

threatening to do the same.

across racial lines.

service and the security forces.

### Iraq Frees American After Plea

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches BAGHDAD - Iraq released an American oilman on Monday who had been sentenced to eight years in prison for illegally entering Iraq

By Senator

from Kuwait, President Saddam Hussein ordered the release of the oilman, Kenneth Beaty, for "humanitar-ian" reasons after an appeal from Senator David L. Boren, Democrat of Oklahoma, in talks here with the Irai deputy prime minister, Tarik Aziz, officials said.

Mr. Beaty arrived Monday in Amman, Jordan, on route to the United States. "It feels great to be here," Mr.

Beary said. Mr. Beaty, 46, was sentenced to eight years in jail in May, and was reported to be suffering from heart problems and high blood pressure. But he appeared fit upon his ar-

He was due to leave later Mon-

He was due to leave later Mon-day for Washington, where his wife was waiting to greet him.

Mr. Beaty had been working for the Kuwaiti-owned Santa Fe Oil Company when he disappeared in April along the Iraqi-Kuwaiti bor-

An Iraqi spokesman said in a written statement that Mr. Saddam had ordered the release of Mr. Beaty after receiving a request from Mr. Boren and "several prominent American figures." Mr. Boren arrived in Baghdad on

Sunday, and diplomats said that he had met a few hours later with Mr. Aziz to discuss the plight of Mr.

Mr. Beaty said that he had crossed the border accidentally.
He said he had been well treated by the authorities at Abu Gharib prison, near Baghdad, and was in permanent contact" with his family, receiving regular medical sup-

languages in the new South Africa; the two current official ones, Eng-lish and Afrikaans, along with the

nine black African languages. Since

no one expects a future government

to print documents or conduct its

affairs in 11 languages, the most

They seem to be getting rid of

Afrikaans indirectly, which is prohably the smartest way do it," said

derivative of 17th-century Dutch

Despite these apparent concessions, President Frederik W. de

Klerk said at a news conference last

week that his ruling National Party had achieved all its major objec-

tives in the negotiations — a claim

Although the National Party did

win an agreement for a five-year

government of national unity after

the first election, it did not win the guarantees it had sought that mi-nority parties in the coalition be

Under the coalition arrangement, Mr. de Klerk will be entitled to serve in cabinet if his National

Party wins more than 5 percent of the popular vote in April, and as

Nelson Mandela's deputy presi-

dent if his party receives more votes than any other opposition party.

that seems false.

able to exercise a veto.

as the language of oppression.

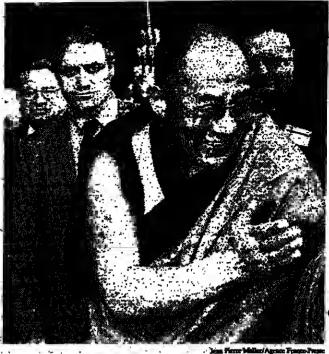
cy negotiators have awarded (with purposeful vagueness) both to the future central government and to one official language — English.

### China Seeks to Counter Dalai Lama

BELING (WP) — China plans to step up its propaganda offensive against the Dalai Lama and improve its human-rights image by sending more Tibetan cultural troupes abroad, according to classified Chinese speeches made public on Monday by a U.S. based human-rights group. The International Campaign for Tibet, which is critical of Chinese rule in Tibet, made public copies of three speeches it said were given by Chinese officials at a March meeting to coordinate China's external strategy toward the West on Tibet. The group said it had obtained the speeches from an anonymous source in China.

**Mainterin** 

In one of the documents, Zeng Jianhui, vice director of the Communis Party's propaganda department, was quoted as saying that China should initiate this year "a tit-for-tat struggle in public opinion against the Dalai clique and the international enemy forces."



The Dalai Lama greeting pilgrims Monday on a visit to Lourdes.

### **Islamic Front Threatens French**

PARIS (AFF) — Algeria's outlawed Islamic Salvation Front has threatened to strike against French nationals and interests in a communique received by Ageoce France-Presse in Paris on Monday.

The message, dated Nov. 14 and written in Arabic, was signed by Abdel Razak Redjam, a spokesman for the group's executive council, which went into hiding in the spring of last year after the military intervened to scrap the second round of a general election the Islamic

Front was poised to win.

Since then, armed fundamentalists have been waging a guerrilla war against the security forces and last month kidnapped three French consular workers in Algiers, who were later freed. The French government retaliated last week with a nationwide crackdown against Algerian fundamentalists. It questioned about 100 people, including the head of an Algerian group close to the Front, who was put under house arrest.

### U.K. Said to Limit Trident Warheads

LONDON (AFP) - Britain has decided to limit its Trident submarine nuclear missile deterrent in order to cut millions of pounds from the military budget, according to press reports on Monday.

Defense Secretary Malcolm Rifkind plans to announce on Tuesday

that the new-generation Trident submarine, which is scheduled to replace the Polaris at the beginning of 1995, will carry no more nuclear warheads than its predecessor, The Times of London reported.

This would bring the maximum number of warheads carried by each of the four Tridents to 48, compared with the 128 originally planned. Such a change would work the reaction of the four production of the four productions of the four product

change would mark the most important shift in the planning of Britain's nuclear deterrent since the end of the Cold War, Mr. Rifkind declined to comment Monday on the report.

### emed mainly from the center or one source close to the negotia-from the regions has been the most tions. Most blacks see Afrikaans, a Major Makes Peace Offer to the IRA

LONDON (AFP) - Prime Minister John Major extended an olive branch to the Irish Republican Army on Monday, promising that once it definitively renounced violence its political wing, Sinn Fein, could enter peace talks on Northern Ireland.

"If the IRA end violence for good, then, after a sufficient interval to ensure the permanence of their intent. Sinn Fein can enter the political arena as a democratic party and join the dialogue," Mr. Major told the

annual Lord Mayor of London's Banquet.

There may now be a better opportunity for peace in Northern Ireland than for many years," Mr. Major said in what was seen as his most optimistic stance yet on Ulster peace prospects. He spoke as the government was vigorously denying reports that it was already engaged in top level talks with Sinn Fein.

# **Italy Opposition Seeks Early Election**

ROME (Renters) — Italy's largest opposition party demanded Monday that general elections be held as early as possible next year and asked Italians to back the call by signing a national petition.

Achille Occhetto, head of the Democratic Party of the Left, formerly the Communist Party, said his group would consider the government of Prime Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi finished on Dec. 21.

That is the day parliament is due to begin its Christmas break, by which time the government expects that the 1994 budget and laws on new voting constituencies will have been approved. President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro can dissolve parliament and call early elections any time after that.

# Luciano Liggio, Mafia Leader, Dies

NUORO, Sardinia — Luciano Liggio, the Mafia boss who helped turn the Corleone clan into one of Sicily's most important criminal organizations, died Monday, ap-parently of a heart attack, in Sar-dinia's maximum security prison. He was 68 years old.

An autopsy has been ordered. Mr. Liggio, who had been serving a life sentence since 1974, had recently been suffering heart problems, and foul play was not suspected.

4 Die in Netherlands Storms

AMSTERDAM — Four people died in storms that lashed the Netherlands over the weekend.

Mr. Liggio once headed the clan based in Corleone, the Sicilian hilltop town which gave the world the fictional "Godfather" played in the movie by Marlon Brando.

Supported by his lieutenant, Salvatore (Toto) Riina, Mr. Liggio seized command of the Corleone clan with the 1958 murder of Michele Navarra, a local doctor who had previously headed the group.

Under Mr. Liggio, the clan di-versified from trade in stolen ani-mals to winning a share in the contracts for the large-scale development of Palermo in the

convicted while on the run in 1970. The police finally caught him again in 1974 in Milan.

Günter Wille, 50, Headed **Springer Publication Group** BERLIN (AP) — Günter Wille, 50, chairman of the publishers, Axel Springer Verlag, died Monday

Mr. Wille made a surprise move to Springer in 1990 after a successful career in the tobacco industry. He became chairman in 1991 and was credited with keeping Springer traband tobacco and drug rackets.

Mr. Liggio was arrested and imprisoned for the murder of Mr. Navarra in 1964 but was freed after.

### 11 Died in Crash. Beijing Confirms

BEIJING — China confirmed Monday that 11 people died when a civilian MD-82 airliner with 102 people aboard crash-landed near

the city of Urumqi on Saturday.

A spokesman for the Kimiang provincial government said by telephone that 10 passengers and one crew member died when the China Northern Airlines plane pitched into a field after a flight from Shenyang via Beijing. He said there was no exact count of the injured.

The Beijing-funded China News Service said late Sunday that about

60 passengers had been sent to vari-ous hospitals, while local doctors said that from 20 to 30 people were injured. CNS said that the plane carried 92 passengers.

### TRAVEL UPDATE

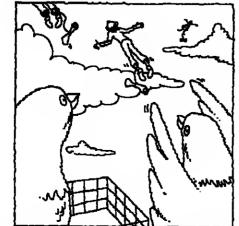
### Air France Promises Normal Service

PARIS (AFP) - Air France said Monday that it expected to run a normal service from Paris out of Orly and Charles de Gaulle-Roissy airports on Thursday despite planned demonstrations by employees.

Air France unions are due to join employees from 14 other state enterprises in a series of demonstrations against government economic policies and plans to eliminate 15,000 jobs in the public sector next year. About 40 unions plan protests, including employees of Aerospatiale, Bull, the SNCF rail authority, Renault, Rhône-Poulenc and the steel producer, Usinor-Sacilor.

France plans to crack down on speeding. After 15 people were killed and 50 injured in a motorway pileup of about 50 vehicles caused by speeding last week, the government said it intended to deploy high-technology methods to crack down, Transport Minister Bernard Bosson said limits although radio. But he added he did not foresee lowering speed limits although planned to punish "really excessive speeding." A panel will draw up a list of measures including "automatic" methods to control speeding, he said without elaborating. The limit for cars is 130 kilometers (30 miles) and the said without elaborating. hour on motorways in fair weather.

Hungary's rail workers held a two-hour strike Monday to back demands for higher wages and to protest cuts in train services. (Reuters)



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### INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1993 STATESIDE / THE RAF A

# Puerto Rico Elects to Maintain Status Quo

By Larry Rohter SAN JUAN, Puerlo Rico — Re-Suffing their governor and his effects to make this Caribbean island mmonwealth the 51st American state, Puerto Ricans have voted arrowly to continue their existing mbiguous relationship with the United States.

By choosing to maintain the commonwealth status that has been in place here for more than 40 pears, Poerto Ricans made it clear. that they prefer "the best of two worlds," in the words of a procommonwealth campaign slogan, to the prospect of more intimate ties with the United States.

By an overwhelming margin, they also rejected independence, the third option offered in the non-

With all votes counted, the commonwealth option won 48 percent of the vote, compared with 46 percent for statehood. Independen econnied for about 4 percent of the vote, with a small number of ballots being deliberately cast blank or spoiled as a protest against the plebiscite.

"Commonwealth is the formula that is most convenient for Pnerto Rico, said Angel Casanova, a 52year-old woodworker, after voting in the San Juan suburb of Bayamon. "Statehood would only result in more problems."

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Governor Pedro Rossello acknowledged the defeat in a speech at the headquarters of his New Progressive Party a few hours after the voting ended.

"The people have spoken, and I have to obey," he said Sunday. He added that by exercising their right to vote in large numbers, in the eyes of the whole world the people of Puerto Rico have shown their class and their commitment to de-

Nevertheless, the result threatens to usher in a period of political uncertainty here and change Puerto Rico's relations with Washington. Thanks to the showing of the Puer-io Rico Independence Party, neither of the two main parties can claim to represent a majority of the island's 3.7 million people.

In addition, Mr. Rossello and Puerto Rico's nonvoting delegate to Congress, Carlos Romero-Barrelo, will now be expected to ask Washington to enhance Puerto Rico's existing commonwealth status after having spent the last three months attacking the status que as n "shameful" rempant of colonial-

1 Since 1952. Puerto Rico has been a commonwealth of the United States, a unique arrangement that gives the residents of Puerto Rico some, but not all, of the rights and responsibilities of American citizenship. With commonwealth status. Puerto Ricans are subject to the military draft, but do not vote in federal elections and do not pay federal taxes so long as they live

An additional 2.6 million Puerto Ricans live on the American mainland and are treated like all other American citizens. Mr. Rossello, who campaigned on a statehood platform when he won office a year ago, had made that one of his main arguments for statehood, saying it was time to end Poerto Rico's "second-class" status.

Throughout the campaign, backpers of commonwealth status also
fingued that statehood would require Pherto Rico to relinquish its
use of the Spanish language and its
coltural identity. They also said
that statehood would bring with it
a federal income and increased fedreal levies on gasoline, cigarettes eral levies on gasoline, cigarettes and liquor.

Though three former Republican Clinton remained neutral during the campaign, saying only that he would respect the will of Puerto Rico's people. "Whatever they want, I want." Mr. Clinton told the Congressional Hispanic Cancus in

. The result of the vote also spares Congress the difficult and controversial decision that would have confronted it had Mr. Rossello's party been successful: whether to grant or reject statehood for Puerto Rico.

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Miguel Hernández Agosto, the leader of the Popular Democratic Party, whose pro-commonwealth stance carried the day, celebrating the victory with his wife at party headquarters in San Juan.

Questions for N.J. Campaign Aide

NEWARK, New Jersey - A federal judge on Monday ordered Governor-elect Christine Todd Whitman's campaign manager, Edward J. Rollins, and two other campaign directors to submit to questioning under oath by Democratic Party offi-

The Democratic national and state committees sought the order after Mr. Rollins described a \$500,000 Republican effort to suppress the urban black vote during the gubernatorial election. Mrs. Whitman denies it happened.

Lawyers for the Republican State Committee and People for Whitman initially opposed the

request, saying they were already cooperating with federal and state investigations.

"We are absolutely certain that there is no substance to his assertions," John Lacey, lawyer for the Republican State Committee, told the

On Nov. 2. Mrs. Whitman beat Governor Jim Florio, a Democrat, by 26,600 votes, the second-smallest victory in state history. A week later, Mr. Rollins said in Washington

that Republicans had paid black ministers not to encourage people to vote and Democratic workers to stay at home on Election Day. (AP)

N.Y. Republicans Turn to Albany

ALBANY - Only days after a Republican won New York City's mayoral race, the party's focus is now on Albany and its search for a 1994 guberna-

With Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato out of contention, the search has become a quest to find a candidate who fits a pollster's profile of the ideal Cuomo slayer. And somewhat predicatably — after all, this is the New York Republican Party the search has generated squabbling that threatens to puncture the happy dream of the Republican

Despite Governor Mario M. Cuomo's vulnerabilities, many Republicans say they believe they can unseat him next year only if the Republican and Conservative parties do not split the anti-Cuomo vote, as they did in 1990. That year, the Republican nominee, Pierre A. Rinfret, finished only one percentage point ahead of the Conserva-tive nominee, Herbert London, who won 20 percent of the vote.

and Conservative parties coalescing around a sin-

Mr. D'Amato and his allies at state Republican headquarters have been promoting the candidacy of State Senator George E. Pataki, a bright and telegenic fiscal conservative from Westchester County, Mr. Pataki officially announced his candidacy last week.

### Quote/Unquote

Lee Iacocca, the former chairman of Chrysler Corp., on the NAFTA debate: "If we turn this one down, we're nots; they're going to think around the world that we're on the ropes, wackos.

# Will Trade Pact Help Clear El Paso Skies?

By Gary Lee

Il askington Post Service EL PASO. Texas - John Sproul says the North American Free Trade Agreement will help rid trus city of the brown cloud hanging nverhead. Linda Lynch counters that it will do no such thing.

When some of Mr. Sproul's fellow environmentalists here assert that the agreement will discourage pollution in Mexico, others respond that it will probably encour-

United in campaigns to clean up the Rio Grande River and in other local ecological causes, environmentalists in this city on the Mexican border are split down the middle over the trade agreement, known as NAFTA.

"On the one side are those who believe that NAFTA will bring economie growth and better environmental protection." said Mr. Sproul, El Paso's most prominent conservationist. "Others believe we should concentrate on cleaning up the problems we have. It's a fundamental debate."

National environmental groups are similarly divided. Since Sep-tember, when the National Wildlife Federation and five other environmental groups endorsed the pact, and the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth condemned it, the two

sides bave traded barbs. With the House of Representatives due to vote Wednesday on the trade agreement, environmentalists on both sides are redoubling their

lobbying campaigns.
Last weekend. Sierra Club members joined labor leaders in rallies against the accord, while staff members at the World Wildlife Fund and other environmental groups telephoned undecided lawmakers to urge support.

The agreement is designed to encourage trade among the United States, Mexico and Canada, But proponents sweetened the deal with a pledge of \$8 billion for cleanup along the U.S.-Mexican border and a side agreement that would impose up to \$20 million in sanctions against polluters.

In their down-to-the-wire effort to sell the accord, Clinton administration officials are using the environmental provisions to belp sway undecided lawmakers, with mixed

But it is in this urban sprawl straddling the U.S.-Mexico border, including El Paso and the adjacent Mexican city of Juarez, where the debate over the environmental effects of the pact literally is closest

If the agreement passes, the area undoubtedly will boom with new industry and workers. Already the

fastest-growing city in Texas. El veteran of local anti-pollution bat-Paso, with a population of 545,000, tles. "NAFTA may well more us back to the 1940s. will triple in size by 2045, according

to forecasts by city planners. Juarez, population 1.3 million and home to more than 250 factories where foreign manufacturers make products solely for export from Mexico in tariff-free zones,

will grow even faster. in 2 region where the sky is brown with pollutants on winter days and gas emissions regularly exceed U.S. government limits. such rapid growth will push eco-logical problems beyond control,

"In our ability to deal with existing environmental problems, we In neighboring Juarez, few are at the level we should have been streets are paved and pollution in the 1950s," said Miss Lynch, a controls are less strictly enforced.

Environmentalists who favor the trade pact say that it will help them combat the area's glaring air-quali-ty problem. In El Paso, levels of carbon monoxide and other pollutants are consistently higher than the Environmental Protection

Agency allows. In response, local officials have enforced a strict anti-pollution regime that includes requiring industrial smokestack scrubbers, paving all of the city's streets and cracking some local environmentalists warn. down on vehicles with inadequate emission controls.

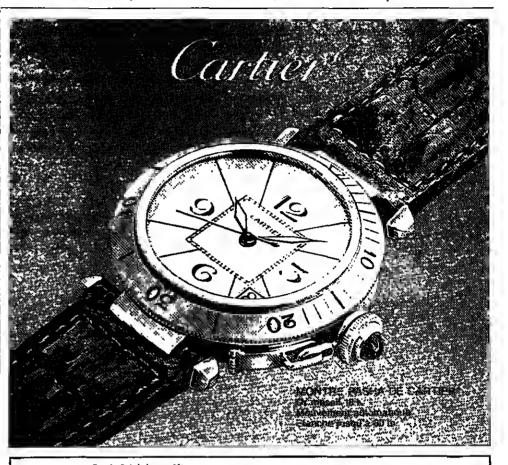
In neighboring Juarez, few

**■** White House Cites Gains

The White House was cautiously optimistic on Monday about winning congressional approval of the agreement, despite tallies that showed it short of the required support two days before the House vote. Reuters reported.

We're getting there," said the White House communications director, Mark Gearan, adding, "I think we're within striking distance

Virtually every preliminary count, including the administra-tion's own soundings, show that pro-treaty forces need to win over most of the approximately 50 uncommitted House members in order to prevail in the showdown on



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### **Away From Politics**

The Supreme Court let stand a Mississippi law requiring unmarried girls who seek abortions to get the consent of both parents or a judge's permission. The justices, without comment, turned away a constitutional challenge to the law. Lawyers for Mississippe's three abortion clinics contended that a rule putting the consent law into effect transformed the judicial-bypass provision into an "undue burden" on girls seeking abortions.

 The doors of Chicago's schools are open again.
 Governor Jim Edgar signed a bill rescuing them with a measure that allows public schools to borrow \$378 million over the next two years and adopt

policies to save money. It was a source of bitter political wrangling between Democratic legislators and the Republican governor.

 The Architocese of San Francisco says it will close 13 churches and parishes in the city. The closures, recommended by an archdiocese commission, affect one out of four of San Francisco's Roman Catholic parishes. "The closure of churches and the merger of parisbes is inevitable," Monsignor Fred Bitanga told his congregation at St. Joseph's Church. "The churches are almost empty. Look at St. Joseph's now — look at all the compty pews."

### Michael Jackson's Lawyer Says Singer Isn't on Run

The Associated Press LOS ANGELES - Michael Jackson did not check into an overseas drug treatment program as an excuse to avoid returning to the United States to face child molestation allegations, his attorneys said

The entertainer's civil attorney, Bertram Fields, labeled as "flatly false" suggestions that Mr. Jackpresidents had urged voters here to son's claim that he was seeking help shoose statehood. President Bill with an addiction to painkillers is an excuse to avoid returning home.

"If Michael Jackson wanted an excuse to stay out of the United States, all he had to do is stay on his tour," Mr. Fields said at a news conference.

The attorney said Mr. Jackson was "barely able to function on an intellectual level" because of his addiction to painkillers.

Mr. Jackson remains in seclusion, and his whereabouts were not disclosed. Reports put him in Lon-

don or Switzerland, and the director general of a hotel in the French Alps said Monday that he had been

The drug treatment program was not revealed. Mr. Fields said Mr. Jackson's privacy could not have been protected in an American in-

Asked about reports that Mr. Jackson was in France, Mr. Fields would only say that extradition laws had nothing to do with the country where Mr. Jackson went

The soft drink giant Pepsico dis-continued its backing of the enter-tainer on Sunday, two days after Mr. Jackson backed out of the tour claiming he was addicted to pain-

to end at the same time that Jackson's tour ended.



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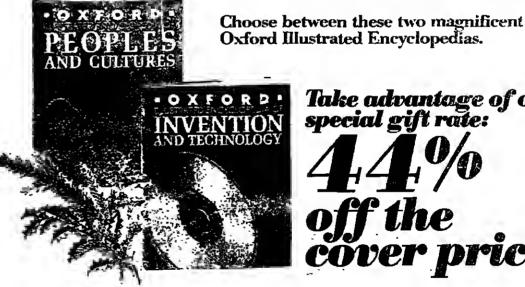
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# **A June Election** Isn't Ruled Out, Yeltsin Asserts

By Steven Erlanger

New York Times Service
MOSCOW — Evidently acknowledging widespread criticism of his democratic intentions, President Boris N. Yeltsin denied on Monday that he had ruled out a presidential election in June.

Giving a strong defense of his motives and strategy in an interview published Monday, Mr. Yeltsin again raised questions about the date of new presidential elections. saying that he had not yet canceled a decree to hold them in June.

Mr. Yeltsin, speaking to Izvestia. conceded that he did not relish the idea of early elections, since he had heen elected to a five-year term that ends only in June 1996 and he had already received a vote of support in an April 1993 referendum. But he acknowledged that he had promised a fresh presidential vote during his struggle with the parliament that he suspended on Sept. 21 and finally shelled into ohlivion on

"I hope you have not forgotten my decree calling early presidential

### Russia to Brief NATO on New **Military Goals**

Agence France-Presse BRUSSELS - Russia has proposed sending a delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization headquarters to explain a new Russian military doctrine, a NATO source said

The source said that the Russian briefing could take place in coming weeks. Russia has not yet officially given NATO details of its new doc-

But the source said that, on the basis of press reports, it appeared to have "many positive elements," adding that it was not aggressive and that Russia no longer considered the 16 nations of the Allantic

alliance as an enemy. He said "serious questions" had to be clarified, such as Russia's relations with Ukraine and whether it would take part in peacekeeping op-erations under the United Nations and the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. elections on June 12, 1994," Mr. Yeltsin said. "It is effective unless I

But he was vague about his real intentions. suggesting that he would make a final decision only after Dec. 12 voting for a new. bicameral parliament, the Federal Assembly, as well as to ratify Russia's first non-Soviet constitution.
"I'd like to find out the opinion of
the Federal Assembly." he said.

Mr. Yeltsin seemed especially eager to emphasize his democratic instincts and intentions to a world audience, after 10 days of open speculation about whether he intends to rule Russia autocratically through a draft constitution heavily weighted toward presidential, rather than legislative power.

But his comments fit with the impression of senior Western diplomats, who believe Mr. Yeltsin sees his most important task ahead: to lead Russia, with strong leadership, to a functioning democratic government under a "civilized," Western-style constitution.

"I won't deny it, the powers of the president in the draft consultu-tion are large." Mr. Yeltsin said. "But what would you like? In a country where clear-cut interest groups haven't taken shape, where normal parties are just being born. in a country where executive discipline is extremely weak, where legal nihilism is dominant — in such a country, to put a stake only or mainly on a parliament?" In such circumstances, he said.

ple would demand a dictator. And I can assure you, a dictator would But he was not that man, he insisted. "I can assure you, as president, that I'm more than anyone

"In six months, if not before, peo-

else interested in social stability." On Nov. 6. Mr. Yeltsin produced a small storm of disappointment among his Russian allies and shock among Western governments. which supported him against the parliament, when he told media editors that he wanted to serve out his term. Earlier, he had promised President Bill Clinton and the German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, that he would hold the June elections.

Monday marked the beginning of a crackdown in Moscow against visitors from non-Russian republies of the former Soviet Union. who must pay a daily residence fee of 750 rubles (about 65 cents) and register with the police. Those who fail to do so are liable to deportation or fines of up to 435,000 rubles



Fouzia Aoukili, 11, after being barred from entering her public school in the eastern French town of Nantua on Monday when she and her sister returned after a one-week suspension still wearing the Islamic headscurves that got them suspended in the first place. In the dispute over Muslim rights in state schools, officials said the expulsion of the two Moroccan girls would be made final.

### IFK: 30 Years After Assassination, Criticism of FBI and CIA Still Mounts

phone and announced to the room at large: "A Lee Harvey Oswald has been picked up. Do we

know anything about him?"

Sitting over lunch in a Kansas City restaurant recently, Mr. Hosty said he could still remember the "total shock" that went through him at the sound of those words. He knew about Mr. Oswald. He had a thick file on him. The FBI had been keeping track of Mr. Oswald, off and on since the former Marine's defection to the Soviet Union in November 1959 and his return to the United States in June 1962.

An expert in internal security, Mr. Hosty had been checking on Mr. Oswald to hring his file up to date. The FBI's investigation of Mr. Oswald as a potential subversive was suspended in August 1962, hut was reopened the following spring after the hureau intercepted a letter Mr. Oswald had written to the Daily Worker, the official publication of the Commu

nist Party U.S.A. Two weeks before the assassination, Mr. Oswald had visited the FBI office in Dallas, looking for Mr. Hosty to complain about the FBI agent's talking to his wife. Marina. Mr. Hosty was not there, but Mr. Oswald left a note warning him not to do it again. "Now, all of a sudden, this thing goes from right to left," Mr. Hosty, in the recent interview, recalled think-ing, "Boom, Big surprise,"

The more it seemed certain that Mr. Oswald

was the culprit, the more trouble Mr. Hosty was

Shortly before 3 P.M. Dallas time on the afternoon of the assassination, Mr. Hosty arrived at Dallas police headquarters, where he interrogation of Mr. Oswald and tell the police

everything the FBI knew about him.

Among other things, the FBI knew that Mr. Oswald had visited the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City in late September, just two months before. The CIA had informed FBI headquarters of that on Oct. 10, but the word that dribbled down to Mr. Hosty made no mention of the fact that Oswald had met with a KGB officer whose specialties included assassina-

Jack Revill, head of the Dallas police intelligence unit, drove into the basement parking garage around the same time Mr. Hosty did. Mr. Revill had just returned from a search of the School Book Depository, from where the fatal shots were fired, and was not yet aware of Mr. Oswald's arrest.

"Hosty came running up to me and said something to the effect that, 'Jack, the Commu-nists killed President Kennedy,' Mr. Revill recalled recently, "Lee Harvey Oswald killed President Kennedy."

As Mr. Hosty recalled the conversation recently, Mr. Revill was incredulous when Mr. Hosty told him "a left-winger shot the presi-

Mr. Hosty said he simply replied; "Jack, he sure as hell did do it. He's the one that did it." Thirty years later, Mr. Revill stands firm: "I can remember it as well as if it happened

Mr. Hosty went upstairs to the office where Mr. Oswald was being questioned for the first time. He "was very arrogant, very sure of himself," Mr. Hosty recalled. But the suspect flared when he heard Mr. Hosty's name. "I know later said he had been sent to sit in on the first you," Mr. Oswald told him, according to one 1975.

police account. "You accosted my wife on two

Mr. Hosty said Mr. Oswald really "lost his cool" when Mr. Hosty asked him whether he had ever been to Mexico City. "A little bit of fear came into those eyes," Mr. Hosty recalled

Mr. Hosty did not speak to Mr. Oswald again. The first round of questioning was broken up for a police lineup and, as Mr. Hosty left the room, he said, another FBI agent came up to him and told him that "we have orders that you're not to tell the police department any-thing about Oswald, and don't go back into the interview room."

By the time Mr. Hosty returned to the FBI office, his boss, Gordon Shanklin, the agent-in-charge, had been informed of Mr. Oswald's visit there two weeks earlier, and of the note Mr. Oswald left. Mr. Shanklin, Mr. Hosty recalled, told him to write a memo explaining the note and the circumstances leading to it.

Two days later, just a few hours after Mr. Oswald had been killed by Jack Ruby, Mr. Hosty said Mr. Shanklin again confronted him about the note. As Mr. Hosty recently recalled the encounter, Mr. Shanklin reached down into a desk drawer and handed him the note, which had been taken from an Oswald file in Mr. Hosty's work box, Handing him the note, Mr. Shanklin said "in effect: 'Oswald's dead now, there can be no trial. Here, get rid of this."

Mr. Hosty said he took the note to the men's room and flushed it down the toilet. Few people knew about the note, and its existence was not revealed outside the Dallas FBI office, even to Mr. Hoover, until the mid-1970s, when it led to congressional hearings in

### SUMMIT: Hybrid Seattle Society

Continued from Page 1

the population. But even among those who be-lieve that the flavor of the country has changed too dramatically, no one is fighting the dawn of the

long-predicted Age of the Pacific. The vision for Cascadia is a re-gion that defies traditional borders and markets itself primarily to Asia. as place without chunky historical baggage. The cities are new, clean and green. You dely recycling at your own risk.

Except among the fringe ele-ments, the architects of Cascadia are not talking about secession, but rather about a singular world view and a way of life.

The region has long had somewhat of a shared cultural tradition. The Northwest is a leading regional theater center; the opera company in Seattle is internationally known, and the region defined the "grunge" genre in popular music".

Some of the trappings, of course, are pie in the sky; there is now a contest to come up with an official flag of Cascadia, perhaps a cross between the Maple Leaf and the Stars and Stripes.

But the concept of a singular region with its prosperity and much of its new culture tied to the region with the world's fastest-growing economy is reflected in subjects that will be under discussion at the economic meetings this week.

Washington state, which did \$74 billion in two-way trade last year, is the most trade-dependent state in the country, with one in five jobs tied to oversess commerce. It is not only that the nation's largest exporter, Boeing, and it largest software manufacturer, Microsoft. have headquarters here, but also that the Port of Seattle, the closest on the U.S. mainland to Japan and China, does more than 85 percent of its business with Asian coun-

Canada's fast-growing province,

has received \$10 billion in investlargest nonwhite ethnic group, ac ments from Hong Kong alone in counting for about 13 percent of the last eight years. This has led some people to refer to Vancouver, pejoratively, as "Hongcouver."

But the money is welcome. And the cultural obstacles are seen as bumps on the way to a new society wedged against the Cascade Mountains, from which it takes its name,

and facing across the sea. "For us, looking inward is not an option, and frankly, I don't think it's much of an option for much of the United States," said Michael Walker, director of the Fraser Institute, a conservative-leaning think tank in Vancouver, "By the end of the century, Vancouver, for all intents and purposes, will be an

Asian city."
Such a shift of this continent's focus has long been predicted. "The Mediterranean era died with the discovery of America," Theodore Roosevelt said nearly a century ago. "The Atlantic era has reached the height of its development. The Pacific era, destined to

be the greatest, is just at dawn."
In the Pacific Northwest, the age of the Pacific had to overcome violent hostility toward Asians. Chinese immigrants arriving at Vanconver about a century ago had to pay a head tax of \$500 before they were allowed to get off the boat. In Scattle, a mob rousted Chinese la borers from their beds and led them to waiting boats. Only a federal judge, standing in the rain in his pajamas, kept the boats from

The low point was the internment of Japanese-Americans, a residents of the Pacific Northwest,

thring World War II.

But the war pumped up Boeing. the world's largest airplane manufacturer, and the company became dependent on a global market. Now, Asia is its fast-growing market. China, on a course to become its business with Asian countries.

the world's second-biggest economy, behind only the United States. Similarly, British Columbia, bought one of every six airplanes made by Boeing in Seattle last year.

### ATTACK: Top Fatah Aide Killed

to break an impasse between Israel and Syria over the Golan Heights. The mission could determine the course of Middle East peacemaking and test the Clinton administration's skill on a foreign policy

front on which it claims success. The State Department spokesman, Michael McCurry, announced Mr. Christopher's plan to go to the area. Officials said the trip probably would be scheduled for early December, just before the Dec. 13 deadline for Israel and the PLO to complete arrangements for Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and the Jewish state.

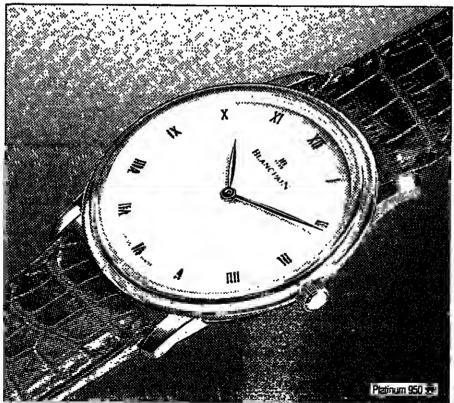
Mr. Christopher is to fly to Rome on Nov. 29 for a meeting with foreign ministers of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to go from there to a North Atlantic Council meet-

ing in Brussels. The key issue on the two stops is the conflict in Bosnia and the devastating impact it is having on civilians as winter approaches.

The Israel-PLO agreement is designed to turn over administrative control of Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho to Palestinians as an experiment in coexistence with

(NYT, Reuters, AP)

# BLANCPAIN



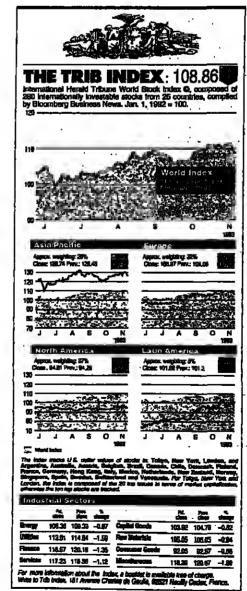
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### KOREA: Offer Debated

Confinued from Page 1
decided soon because of growing
anxiety over North Korea's refusal
to allow inspections of seals placed
on sensitive nuclear-related equipment and replenishment of film
and batteries in surveillance cameras at the Yongbyon complex.

rand batteries in surveillance cameras at the Yongbyon complex.

The International Atomic Energy Agency's director, Hans Birx,

# U.S. and Koreans Start War Games

SEOUL — United States and South Korean troops began a six-day military exercise Monday to test logistics and communications in the face of North Korean warn-

spark a war.

A South Korean Defense Ministry spokesman said that the exercises, "Foal Eagle," had begun but that Seoul wanted to keep the spotlight off them. "We have nothing to say," he said. "All we can say is that the exercise has started, and there

ings that war games this week could

the exercise has started, and there are no details."

A U.S. military official said American troops had been flown into South Korea to participate in regions south of Scoul. "Foal Eagle" rehearses the support functions of running a war, in contrast to the annual "Team Spirit" exer-

said Nov. I that the lack of access had damaged his ability to verify the absence of any new work by North Korea on nuclear weapons, and American officials have projected that the inspection system could be completely undermined in

one to two months.

against us."

The State Department's enthusiasm for the proposed deal partly stems from a statement last Thursday by the North Korean first vice minister for foreign affairs, Kang Sok Chu, outlining his country's commitment to inspections of some nuclear plants if "the United States takes a practical action of renouncing the nuclear threat

An American official said Mr. Kang was referring to a demand that Washington cancel the "Team Spirit" exercise, which last spring involved 126,000 American and Korean troops and was portrayed by North Korea as a prelude to

Mr. Kang urged U.S. adoption of the "package solution" put forth by his government, promising that such a move would open the door to "settlement of the nuclear prob-

He also suggested that a rejection might cause Pyongyang to walk away from its dialogue with Washington.

to the annual "Team Spirit" exer"We interpret it as a positive mechanism for electing members of cises when troops simulate combat. sign," an American official said. the lower house of the Dict, the

### JAPAN: Test Time for Hosokawa

Continued from Page

around 70 percent. Asked why they support Mr. Hosokawa, most backers cite his commitment to political

Mr. Hosokawa has successfully portrayed his bill as a reform of the pervasive corruption that has marked Japanese politics for years. At this moment in Japan, to be against reform is to risk the end of a political career.

In negotiations in the last few days. Diet members who had strongly opposed the Hosokawa package reportedly began moving toward compromise. Since Mr. Hosokawa is evidently willing to amend the details of his bill to win overall passage, the negotiations appear to have been successful.

"In the end, I don't think there are going to be many people who vote against it," said Ichiro Ozawa, a coalition strategist and Mr. Hosokawa's chief vote-counter.

"If the bill loses, we'll have to go to an election and let the people decide," Mr. Ozawa said. An election campaign would focus almost totally on political reform, and the opponents would be on the wrong side of public opinion.

Mr. Hosokaza has placed a fourbill package before the Diet. One bill completely redesigns the mechanism for electing members of more powerful of the legislature's two chambers. Currently, members are elected from multimember districts. With several seats at stake, a party often runs several candidates in a single district. As a result, elections turn much more on personality and "gifts" to the voters than on policy differences.

Under Mr. Hosokawa's plan, every district would become a singlemember district, which might well lead to a two-party system.

But a two-party system would be disastrous for small parties. To protect them, the bill would also set up a national Diet vote, with seats allocated to parties in proportion to their share of the national vote. This means that even a splinter party could get some representation in the lower house.

The package also includes tough new restrictions on campaign financing, though exact terms are still being negotiated,

Some of the toughest opposition Mr. Hosokawa has faced has come from allies in his seven-party coalition. But when the reform package comes to a vote, probably late this week, most of the coalition is expected to go along. For all their internal differences, the coalition members are determined to prove that they can govern, and that they can achieve as much as or more than the Liberal Democrats.

### Kohl Mines Rich Vein With Visit To China

Compiled by Our Staff From Dupaiches
BEIJING — Chancellor Helmut
Kohl of Germany talked Monday
with Prime Minister Li Peng nf
China as he began a five-day visit
that German delegation sources
said could net contracts worth
more than \$3 billion.

more than 3.5 billion.

Chancellor Kohl held a 90-minute meeting with Mr. Li after being welcomed with military honors in Tiananmen Source.

Mr. Kohl told Mr. Li that Germany had no problem cooperating with China's developing high technology, a pointed reference in United States sanctions against providing China with some high technology that can be used militarily.

Amnng \$1.2 billinn worth of deals already worked nut, officials said, is one for six more airliners by the Airbus consortium worth around 5650 million dollars, another for the supply of a dye factory worth \$117 million by BASF AG, and one for railway carriages by Deutsche Waggenbau AG worth \$97 million

\$97 million.

Mr. Knhl Inld Mr. Li that Germany was "following the rapid development of the Chinese economy with admiration" and reaffirmed Bonn's one-China policy, in which it refrains from nfficial relations and arms deals with Taiwan, according to a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Wu Jianmin.

Mr. Wu said Mr. Li had expressed Beijing's appreciation of Germany's stance on Taiwan.

To reward Germany. Chinese officials have said that if it matches other countries in price and conditions for any given project, they will award the project to Germany.

will award the project to Germany.
German delegation sources said
Mr. Kohl's trip, his third since becoming chancellor 11 years ago,
would focus nn gaining a bigger
share for German companies in the
booming Chinese market.

(AFP, A

### Vietnam Jails 4 Monks

Agence France-Presse

HANOI — Four dissident Buddhist monks accused of instigating anti-government unrest in the Vietnamese city of Huê last May were jailed Monday for terms of three and finity years, sources in Huê said. Fifteen civilian "provocateurs," who joined the monks in the May 24 protest, were given jail terms ranging from six months to four years, the sources said.

# Jiang Zemin: A Lighter Side

By Lena H. Sun Washington Post Service

BEIJING — The big questinn in diplomatic circles here is this: When President Bill Clinton meets President Jiang Zemin this week, will the Chinese leader recite from the Gettysburg Address?

Mr. Jiang, 65, will meet Mr. Clinton on Friday in Seattle. Their talks will take place during the first summit meeting by leaders of the 15-member Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation group, a U.S.-led effort to foster trade relations.

A gregarious, poetry-reciting apparatchik, Mr. Jiang will travel to the United States as president in the world's most populous country and fastest-growing economy, head of the world's largest Communist Party and commander in chief of a powerful military.

But among foreigners who

But among foreigners who have met him, it is not his command of authority or grasp of issues that leaves the deepest impression. Rather, it is his fundeness for crooning American love songs and quoting Lincoln, Goethe and Shakespeare in the nriginal languages.

Before he became president, in March, Mr. Jiang, who bas had little experience as a statesman, frequently sang, quoted Chinese elassical poetry, and recited works in English, Russian, Japanese and Romanian during meetings with foreigners. He reportedly speaks English fluently ennugh to carry no casual con-

versations.

For American audiences, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address became a staple. Most Americans "are not used to the general secretary of the Communist Party quoting the Gettysburg Address in English," said a Western diplomat. "Some of them are very impressed, and some of them are a little taken aback."

Mr. Jiang has more titles than any other leader in recent Chinese history since Mao. But in a country where rule is highly personal and where legitimacy comes from revolutionary credentials, titles are viewed as meaning little.

Instead, Mr. Jiang is seen as a transitional figure. Whether he can survive after his patron — Deng Xiaoping, the senior leader whose only official position is honorary president of the Chinese Bridge Association — passes from the scene is an open

question. Chinese and Western

Will Chinese Leader Be Quoting Lincoln in Seattle?

analysts say.

The hallmark of Mr. Jiang's tenure so far seems to be his ability to shift quickly with the prevailing political winds, a trait that earned him the nickname "Weather Vane." He is not known for innovative thinking or leadership. Few original statements are found in his speeches. He did nnt play a major role in

Most Americans
'are not used to
the general
secretary of the
Communist
Party quoting the
Gettysburg
Address in
English.'
A Western diplomat

reshaping the top party leadership at a key meeting a year ago. "He's a man without a base, a

man without a crimpass and a man without a vision," said David Shambaugh, a University of London professor of Chinese politics. "Therefore he's very vulnerable in a post-Deng succession struggle."

Mr. Jiang catapulted to power

Mr. Jiang cataputed to power several weeks after the June 4, 1989. Chinese army crackdown on student protesters, in which bundreds of demonstrators were killed. China's leaders were searching for a compromise figure to head the party in the aftermath, and settled on Mr. Jiang, then party boss of Shanghai.

Within months, Mr. Jiang became head of the Central Military Commission that runs the military. This spring, he also became president,

Some observers have noticed that he is growing his hair long and combing it back, as did Mao. But it is not Mao to whom he is most frequently compared; it is rather Hua Guofeng, who was also plucked from obscurity to succeed Mao. Mr. Hua lasted only two years after Mao's death in 1976.

Mr. Jiang has officially been designated the "core" of the next generation of leaders. But many Chinese and foreign analysts wonder whether Mr. Jiang can he taken seriously. Perhaps aware of his reputation as a lightweight, Mr. Jiang has become more restrained since becoming president in March, even with

longtime foreign acquaintances.

The official media, too, has been working on his image, portraying him as man of the people who visits vegetable markets to inquire about prices and waits in line with factory workers to eat lunches of baked wheat cakes.

Mr. Jiang, who has few ties in the military, has also been trying to shire up his support in that key insutution. Since he assumed chairmanship of the Central Military Commission, he has inspected military facilities in more than 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, according 10 one account.

Although he has brought some of his allies from Shanghai to Beijing, his personnel network is still seen as far weaker than that of potential post-Deng rivals like Prime Minister Li Peng and or the parliament head, Qian Shi.

Like Mr. Li, Mr. Jiang is the son of a Party martyr. Born in 1926 to an intellectual family in Jiangsu Province close to Shanghai, Mr. Jiang joined the party in 1946 and graduated from prestiginus Shanghai Communications University the next year as an electrical engineering major.

electrical engineering major.

Like many of his contemporaries, he went to the Soviet Union in 1955 and worked for a year at the Stalin automobile plant in Moscow. Upon returning to China, he worked in a variety of beavy industrial sectors, including the Ministry of Electronics Industry that be headed befine becoming mayor of Shanghai in 1985. He also took part in setting up the first special economic zone in the southern Chinese city of Shenzhen as part of Mr. Deng's program to usher some capitalism into the economy.

In Shanghai, China's largest city, he was unpopular as mayor. Some blamed him for doing little to ease the massive traffic, pollution and housing problems. He was kicked upstairs as party boss in 1988.

When demonstrations broke out in Shanghai in April 1989, Mr. Jiang defused tensions without resorting to martial law or calling in the army, in contrast to the bloody suppression in Beijing, But once Beijing took a hard line, he cracked down.



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### Winter Warmth for Bosnia

When starvation and freezing weather threatened Bosnia a year ago. Europeans and Americans mounted a massive relief effort. Last winter was abnormally mild, and although fighting continued, few people died of hunger or cold. Things are hleaker this winter. the State Department now estimates that more than 2.7 million lives are at risk due to war. disease, malnutrition or inadequate shelter.

The threat is greatest in central Bosnia, where fighting impedes relief convoys. In Sarajevo, Serbian forces have devised a devilish way to torment besieged inhabitants who rely on natural gas for heat. Gas flowing through a huried pipeline is periodically cut off, despite Belgrade's promises that this would not happen. When United Nations monitors protest, the tap is turned on, at least for a time. And in last year's "mild" winter, temperatures plunged to minus 16 centigrade (3 degrees Fahrenheit).

Fortunately, there is a way to end this slow torrure. The pipeline that carries gas from Russia through Hungary serves Belgrade as well as Sarajevo. The tap can be closed in Hungary, so that Serbian aggressors can share Sarajevo's pain. The threat is taken seriously

in Beigrade, which is why gas begins flowing when UN protests become loud enough.

Last winter only 10 percent of the homes in Sarajevo were linked to gas; thanks to private relief groups, which flew in necessary hookups, the figure is now 70 percent. Since then, however, the windows in most houses have been shattered, and the city's ill-fed people average seven kilograms (15 pounds) less in body weight. And hills are hare of the trees used last winter to provide wood for fire-places. The bloodlesting in Bosnia will not end just because the world makes plain that it opposes this cruel form of warfare. But crediwarnings, like threatening to close Belgrade's tap, would save lives and lessen suffer-ing. Meantime, as President Bill Clinton noted the other day, allied airdrops, carried out mainly hy U.S. aircraft, are providing food and medical supplies on a scale comparable to the Berlin airlift of 1948-49.

The world may not be able to resolve the tangled three-way territorial dispute in Bosnia, hut it surely has the tools to keep millions of civilians from starving and freezing.

# Nuclear Time Bomb on the Russian-Ukrainian Border

WASHINGTON — Boris Yeltsin's deci-sion to cancel the presidential election he promised for June is not a sign of growing authoritarianism. It is a sign of growing fa-tigue. President Yeltsin's health, not his lust for power, is one of two great dangers confronting Russian democracy.

The other is the accelerating economic collapse of Ukraine. The competing downward spirals of living conditions and public confidence in President Leonid Kravchuk's neo-Communist government whet the appetite of Russian generals and officials determined to restore Moscow's control over Kiev.

Russians nostalgic for Soviet rule no longer hide their calculation that Ukraine will soon be forced to reioin Mother Russia out of desperation. The "nostalgies" also show in private conversations with visitors a willingness to

hurry that process along as best they can.

Mr. Yeltsin and his foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, have kept those who want to recreate the Soviet empire in check thus far. Their anni-imperialism, in contrast to the pho-ny rhetoric used by the Soviets in the Cold War, is the real thing. But events in Ukraine could tip the halance in Moscow toward the

That is why Bill Clinton, who is preparing for a January summit in Moscow, and other Western leaders must urgently address the dangers that a Ukrainian implosion would

By Jim Hoagland

pose for global stability. The tangled thicket of Ukrainian-Russian relations could turn President Clinton's singular foreign policy success story into a disaster area overnight. Western concern should not be focused at this point on Mr. Yeltsin's credentials as a democrat. Those credentials were weakened but not irreparably damaged when he ordered

tanks to put down the September mutiny in parliament. Elections for a new legislature and a constitutional referendum, both set for Dec. 12. will help restore Mr. Yeltsin's legitimacy. U.S. officials hoped that he would run for re-election at the same time, or at the latest by June, as he promised in a Sept. 23 decree dishanding parliament. But Mr. Yeltsin told Moscow editors on Nov. 6 that a June election was no longer his plan. He said he was going back to 1996 as the election date and

would not run for re-election. Interpretations that Mr. Yeltsin was emboldened by the September events to grah more power ignore the history of Mr. Yeltsin's decision. He has long harbored a desire

to be a one-term president. Without referring to the still unidentified health problems that occasionally sideline him for weeks, Mr. Yeltsin, 62, has made it clear to Western visitors that he does not want

to endure the strain of another campaign and a new live-year term. He wants to call it quits at the end of the term he won in Russia's first democratic elections in 1991.

He said this explicitly to Canada's thea Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in May, as Mr. Mulroney recounted a few days later over lunch at The Washington Post.

It is not clear if the deterioration in Ukraine influenced Mr. Yeltsin's decision not to advance the presidential election. But it is clear that rolling the dice on the presidency — the one point of political stability and authority in Russia now — while Ukraine sinks toward chaos had become an enormous gamble.

Mr. Kravchuk's steady retreat back into a Soviet style centralized command economy has sent inflation shooting up to 70 percent a month and made the Ukrainian currency arguably the world's least desirable.

This turmoit has been accompanied by a distinct hardening of Mr. Kravchuk's position on giving up the strategic nuclear rockets stationed on Ukrainian soil. The Ukrainian president has recently indicated to European interlocutors that Ukraine will give up its nuclear weapons only as part of global demiclearization, a distant prospect at best.
This shift, if maintained, is a defeat for the

Clinton administration's efforts to use economic incentives to get Mr. Kravchuk to live

weapons to Russia for dismantling. Mr. Kravchuk is clearly saying that the carrots Mr. Clinton has offered are too small and too

uncertain to justify giving up nuclear arms.
That can only increase Russian apprehension and strengthen the hand of the nostalgics who want to intervene in Ukraine. The Clinton administration seems to be counting on President Kravchuk to wake up one morning and suddenly share its view that the nuclear weapons are a threat to Ukrainian

security, not a guarantee.

Time is running out on that approach. The administration needs to treat the future of Ukraine with the same intensity and urgency it has focused on the survival of Mr. Yeltsin

and democracy in Russia up to now.

Thus Mr. Clinton's January rendezvous with Mr. Yeltsin cannot be limited to bolstering the Russian president's position at home and issuing communiques landing democracy in Russia. He must go to Moscow armed with practical steps that America and its allies have agreed on to ensure Ukraine's indepen-dence. And he must get Mr. Yeltsin's public support for such an approach.

It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Clinton faces no more important task, domestic or foreign, in his presidency than disarming the ticking nuclear time bomb located on the Russian-Ukrainian frontier.

The Washington Post.

### **Bad Memories of Croatia**

Since Croatia separated from Yugoslavia in 1991, its economy has been hled by war and its reputation soiled as Croatian militias have joined in dismembering Bosnia. This small, poor and unstable country desperately needs friends. Yet its leaders, notably President Franjo Tudjman, seem destructively bent on reviving the memory of Zagreh's zealous col-laboration with Nazi Germany during World War II. What makes this more baffling is that Mr. Tudjman fought against Hitler. His hrother was killed by the Germans.

Why does he go out of his way to link present-day Croatia with the fascist Ustashe regime installed in Zagreh hy Hitler's Reich? At Mr. Tudjman's instigation, Croatia calls its new currency the kuna, the name used during the Ustashe years. Croatia's new coat of arms closely resembles the symbol of the Ustashe state. And Mr. Tudjman not only defends the reputation of surviving Ustashe leaders, he has named one to a seat in parliament, and another as his ambassador to Argentina.

Two defenses have been offered for these disturbing gestures, neither of them satisfactory. Some conservative Croats insist that the

Ustashes were merely nationalists who gave Croatia its only semblance of independence in modern times. Besides, they say, there were Nazi collaborators everywhere in occupied Europe, so why single out the Ustashes? But Croatia's independence was a fiction, and Ustashes were among Heinrich Himmler's most enthusiastic helpers in slaughtering tens

of thousands of Serbs and Jews. Croatia's new leaders may pretend that puppets and killers were really patriots and nartyrs, but a newspaper tracked down Ivo Rojnica, ambassador-designate to Argentina, who said: "Everything 1 did in 1941 I would do again." One of the things he did then was to issue a decree forbidding all Jews and Serbs to appear on the streets from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M., the first step toward death camps. When the decree was disclosed, Mr. Rojnica's

name was withdrawn. At 72, Mr. Tudjman is halfway through his six-year term as Croatia's first elected president. How can it possibly benefit him or Croatia to associate his new nation with the

darkest chapter in European history? - THE NEW YORK TIMES.

# Linkups vs. Censorship

Two news accounts in the past week, both concerning the movement of information in the press and universities of once-Communist Easi European nations, underline the continning difficulties of those countries' efforts to keep at bay the censorship that they threw off so juhilantly in 1989. In Hungary a longstanding fight between media and the government continued over the threatened imposition of a severe new press law. In Washington, a consortium of 82 American universities announced plans for an amhitious international electronic alliance linking universities and researchers worldwide.

Despite the Soviet bloc nations' long and grim experience with censorship of almost every form of expression, officials in fledgling democracies, many of which face instability and the rise of extremist parties on the right. are as vulnerable as anybody else to the tempting notion that freedom of the press is a luxury that at the moment the nation (or the university, or the institution) just can't afford. Not all the forms that this impulse takes have been as obvious, or have created as much alarm or condemnation from observers, as Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decision to shut down a clutch of opposition newspapers in the wake of the failed coup attempt. Many countries are struggling with subtler issues such as whether to allow the publication of neofascisi or extreme nationalist symbols. questions on which even West European law codes differ from those of the United States.

A U.S.-China Turning Point

The meeting in Seattle between the Chinese

leader Jiang Zemin and President Bill Clinton

Enmeshing trade issues with other problems

has created a messy situation. Trade should

the Soviet Union, but the significance of its

preeminent status has diminished. Its capac-

China's prospects.

How much of a role should the United States hope to play in influencing the future direction of these matters? As much as the Clinton administration may stress "advancing demo-cracy" as a broad foreign policy goal, it may well be that the success of initiatives like the universities' electronic network will do more to ensure citizens' access to information than government-level pressure ever can. Observers saw over and over again, in China and during the democratic revolutions, how fax machines and electronic hookups were making permeable even the most doggedly maintained government blackouts on news and information.

For East European scholars struggling to catch up in technical or scientific fields — or just hoping to navigate the increasingly riot-ous tangle of American universities, companies, think tanks and private initiatives trying to make contacts in the new countries' new economies - every electronic linkup is a potential lifeline. The power of the personal computer should not he taken as eclipsing the need for press freedom; the global electronic village continues to have pockets and hlackout areas, and the information superhighways, even once they exist, will never go everywhere. But they help and will help more in future. The orivate sector can best serve these expanding networks, but the American government also can continue sending a signal about freedom of media in the more

-- THE WASHINGTON POST.

ity for global involvement has eroded, while

new threats to international peace and sta-hility have arisen which the United States

will not he able to manage without the coop-

these two countries. While cooperation will

ensure that the Asia-Pacific becomes the

# At His Asia-Pacific Party, Clinton Will Need to Be a Gentle Host

HONOLULU — Meetings in Se-attle this week are a key mo-ment for the United States in its relations with the rest of the Asia-Pacific region. On Wednesday and Thursday, the fifth ministeral meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum will consider a plan for liheralizing regional trade

and investment. After that, Bill Clinton has invited APEC leaders to an 'informal conference.' Launched in 1989, APEC grew out of a desire to manage the growing interdependence of economies. This was the culmination of 25 years of proposals and 10 years of nongovern-

mental talks on regional cooperation. APEC's awkward name underscores the cautious atmosphere that prevailed at its inaugural meeting in Canberra; a noninstitutional name was all that some participants would accept. In particular, members of ASEAN, the Association of South

By Richard W. Baker East Asian Nations, were worried that a regional economic institution might detract from the leading role of their own painstakingly built organization. So everyone agreed to talk about mere "cooperation."

Just four years later, APEC is accepted as a major regional institution, with its own charter and even a small secretariat in Singapore. It has 15 participants representing the principal economies of the Pacific Rim. Mexico and Papua New Guinea have asked to join, and Chile has expressed interest.

In Seattle this week, the foreign and trade ministers will receive a report they commissioned from eleven economists, businessmen and former ministers setting out a long-range vision for the organization and regional economic cooperation generally. The report is expected to recommend a Pacific-wide free trade area. The most significant achievement of the informal summit will be that it takes place at all. This will be a major milestone in Asia-Pacific relations and a diplomatic coup for the Clin-

ton administration. However, reaction in the region to the administration's enthusiastic embrace of regional cooperation has been mixed. The more positive U.S. attitude is welcomed in many quarters, particularly among long-stand-ing advocates of multilateralism such as Australia. Others are concerned that Washington will become so converted to the process that it will try to

impose its own hlueprint. American officials have been at great pains to deny any U.S. intention to seek the primary leadership role. They stress the need to proceed

there is room for a variety of initiatives and mechanisms.

The most important contribution of the Seattle meetings will be to further the process of regular interac-tions and a sense of community in the Asia-Pacific region. A successful sum-mit could well lead to a second such meeting in Indonesia in 1994. A pattern of annual regional summits, once established, would facilitate personal relationships among leaders that could be helpful in dealing with other inter-national and bilateral issues.

For the United States, summit meetings by whatever name can also play a useful role in managing bilat-eral relations, such as those with Japan and China. A summit can thus become part of a larger "socializa-tion" process, providing opportuni-ties and meentives to resolve differ-ences and build mutual confidence. It is impossible to predict how any of these processes will develop. But

early opportunities for policy decisions and initiatives. President Clinton's Asia-Pacific team has positioned America to play an innovative and very positive role in regional diplomacy and institution building.

The Seattle meetings will cap an intense year of policy development. They present multiple and very real challenges. The Umied States will be trying to win approval of a serious agenda for regional economic coop-eration. The president and his heu-tenants must avoid either offending the individual sensitivities of other participants or pushing harder than the dynamics of the group will bear.

Profession .

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The writer, a senior fellow in the East-West Center's Program on International Economics and Politics, is a former U.S. diplomat who served in the Asia-Pacific region. He contributed this

more than happy to promote the idea as a way of maintaining its own weakened position in Asia.

None of this helps to get rid of the

inherited Japanese-Anglo-Saxon club flavor, which explains Malaysia's deep

dislike of APEC and some of the sus-

picions elsewhere in Asia. The strong free trade emphasis in APEC is a di-

# America, Japan and Australia Shouldn't Expect to Run the Club

T OKYO - The concept of a European Community, for all its faults, began as an idealistic attempt to unite Europe and end the national-

istic fends of the past.
NAFTA owes much to the dream of an American continent in which the wealth of the North helps the

South overcome poverty.

But APEC, the would-be Asia-Pacific equivalent, has much less worthy origins. It is a flawed idea whose time should never have come; a 'classic momentum of their own, distracting tic proposal — an anti-Communist tense and persistent lobbying by Jap- ened economy. Washington has been

SINGAPORE — The United States, the European Community

and Japan dominate the world econo

my. With only 17 percent of the popu-

lation, they account for 70 percent of production. But this is changing. A recent study by the OECD indicates

that hy the year 2050 Asia will account

for more than half of global output.

The center of gravity of the world

economy is shifting toward Asia.
Clearly, this shift will have conse-

quences for the relative power of the

United States, the European Com-

new competitors — not just in Asia but also in the newly market-oriented

East European countries - have

highlighted the serious economic

Europe has two options. It can

withdraw and try to consolidate its position by protecting European

weaknesses of Western Europe.

Globalization and the arrival of

munity and Japan.

### By Gregory Clark

By Yvonne C. M. T. van Rooy

The writer is foreign trade minister of the Netherlands.

attention from more important issues. The idea of an Asia-Pacific economic grouping goes back to the 1960s, when Japanese conservatives convinced themselves that Japan needed to look firmly to the West, both politically and economically. They came up with the short-lived concept of PAFTA — a Pacific Free Trade Area comprising Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia and

markets and giving preferential treat-

ment to European trade and indus-try. Or it can heed the OECD's rec-

ommendations and take the difficult

to loss of prosperity in the long term.

It is hard to sustain the notion of "national" or "European" interest

when husinesses increasingly disre-

gard national frontiers. For example, German-based Daimler-Benz recent-

ly decided to drop 40,000 jobs and

move some production outside of Eu-

rope to cut costs and follow market

demand. In the Netherlands, we have

come to realize that products are no longer exclusively "Made in the Netherlands" but contain compo-

Protectionist measures would lead

path of structural adjustment.

Japanese-Anglo-Saxon club that excluded much of Asia and gave Japan privileged access to Western markets. But PAFTA's backers persevered. First they set up PBCC, a private business/academic discussion forum to promote Pacific basin exchanges. Then came PECC, in which the businessmen and academics were joined

by government officials. APEC emerged from the debris of

It looks as if Asian countries will,

for now, be the main beneficiaries of the globalization process. They have a

large pool of generally well-motivated workers. Their labor costs are relative-

ly low. They combine a flexible social

system with increasing organizational and technological capabilities.

become pioneers. In addition, they

have large markets with growing pur-chasing power that will increase if they

can sustain economic growth while

intensifying mutual cooperation.

Europe can learn much by studying the Asians' outward-looking, market-

Structural adjustment is always

difficult. In stagnant Europe, where markets for goods, services and labor

oriented development strategies.

In many fields, Asian nations have

anese and Australian economists involved with the original PAFTA concept. And while the APEC concept now includes most East and Southeast Asian countries, there is still a strong carryover of PAFTA ambitions. Tokyo has tried hard to remove

hints of Japan-centrism by relying on Australia for the initiatives needed to get APEC off the ground; Canberra clings to the idea that an Asia-Pacific bloc will give it the political clout it should never have come; a classic united States, Canada, Australia and example of how faddish ideas gain a New Zealand. It was a quite unrealist these schemes, thanks mainly to inmarkets it needs to revive its weak-

restore flexibility to job markets. So-

In other fields, too, European

paid to education and infrastructure:

serious failings in decision-making — as the troubled GATT negotiations demonstrate. And the EC's Common

Agricultural Policy still resembles

central economic planning.

The painfully slow transformation

of many East European countries also

weighs on the Community. Political instability and economic chaos in

some countries may accelerate the

flow of migrants into Western Europe.

Eastern Europe are proving quite competitive in various sectors, even

threatening the position of West En-ropean businesses. This challenge, of course, is offset by the opening of

To increase political and economic stability in Eastern Europe, the EC should provide technical assistance

and open its markets to the East.

If Europe and Asia can maintain

open markets, there will be a strong

base for mutually beneficial trade, in-vestment and technology transfer. Eu-

rope is an important market for Asia.

It will remain so, especially if structur-

al adjustment succeeds and Europe's

single market is developed and en-

larged by the entry of countries from the European Free Trade Area and

International Herald Tribune.

attractive markets

Yet, some countries in Central and

The European Community shows

cial safety nets are too costly.

rect hangover from the PAFTA ambi-tion of helping Japan maintain and expand access to licrative markets. Then there is the problem of the U.S. role. Japan and Australia have political reasons for wanting to keep the United States strongly involved. m Asia. But ASEAN members have

voice for China and Russia.

How can U.S. membership in a free trade-oriented APEC be reconciled with U.S. cathusiasm for NAFTA? Apart from anything else, one worthy NAFTA objective is to have the United States and Canada direct their im-

ports of low-wage goods away from trade-surplus Asia and toward the more deserving Latin American area.

The political meaning of the Seattle summit is undercut by Malaysia's boycott, and by the plethora of other world summits. Personnel, aid and

cultural exchanges to date have been fairly perfunctory; any number of other bodies already offer similar exchanges, and more efficiently. What is the rationale for Asia-Pa-

cific Basin exchanges in the first place? East and Southeast Asia, with the possible exception of Japan, have more in common culturally with South Asia, the Middle East and even Europe than they do with North America or Oceania. Geographically, Washington and Asia are both much

aloof. But these moves ultimately reinforce the original image of a Japanese-Anglo-Saxon alliance. APEC will not survive long on that basis.

International Herold Tribune.

from Central and Eastern Europe.

# Democracy as She Walks the Streets

nents from all over the world.

will be the first in nearly five years between eration of other powers. heads of state of the two estranged countries. Since China is a growing power, its coop-It could be a turning point in their relations. eration will become even more important. In A more mature dialogue is needed. But this will not be possible unless the Clinton adminthe Asia-Pacific, the United States will cease to be the sole leading power. The future of this region will be shaped increasingly hy the kind of relationship that exists between istration abandons its unrealistic, shortsighted and overhearing policies toward China.

be delinked from extraneous issues. As for the world's economic center of gravity, rivalry human rights questions, the United States has and conflict would destabilize the entire repursued such interests unevenly, targeting some countries more than others. This has gion, spelling disaster. The U.S. economy will benefit enormously from China's growth and its fast-expanding not helped, raising the suspicion that the issue camouflages a hidden agenda to damage market. The huge size of the Chinese market. as the purchasing power of its people in-creases, will provide the United States with The United States may be the only superpower left in the world after the collapse of export opportunities which will help reduce

unemployment at home. - The Straits Times (Singapore).



Other Comment

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By William Safire

political manager who out-strategized the White House guru James Carville in the recent New Jersey gubernatorial race, reminds me of the mentalist in the old movie The 39 Steps": When asked a question, he is compelled to hlurt out the dangerous truth. His need to expose the existence

of what politicians have long called "walking-around money" - henceforth to be known in the annals of psychiatry as the Rollins Compulsion — has provided the healthiest revelation in politics this year. To the victor belongs the spoiler. The horrified goo-goos denouncing his time-dishonored tactics do not recognize a true reformer.

Reminiscence: As an eager young flack in the presidential campaign of 1960, I was assigned to try to cut Republican losses in cities where Democratic machines delivered the vote - Chicago. Philadelphia. Detroit. New York.

Len Hall, who had helped elect Dwight Eisenhower and was chairman of the Nixon campaign, told us: "Joe Kennedy is pumping out the walkin around money as I've never seen. We have to match him dollar for dollar - cash in the hands of the Republican precinct captains, wherever we have any. And don't forget" - Mr. Hall turned to a lawyer who a decade later hecame a top law enforcement officer — "we're not above puttin' a

roof on the church." l was familiar with the term walkin around money, later cruelly defined in my political lexicon as "cash payoffs to precinct workers."

A campaign would give a few hundred bucks to a captain to have in his pocket for incidental expenses - not to "huy votes," heaven forfend — just to pay for a baby sitter or stimulate a canvasser or hire a hus on Election Day. The captain kept most of it for himself, but it made him feel like a big man and may have soucezed out a few extra

votes; all part of the game. My part of the project was to direct payments to hlack, Jewish, Irish, Polish and other local newspapers and radio stations, ostensi for advertising, hut nobody checked to see if the ads actually ran or the papers got distributed. The purpose was to encourage the gazettes and stations toward edito-

One day I hreezed into the office of one of Mr. Hall's junior law partners and was startled by the biggest stack of cash I had ever seen, laid out all over his desk. Not a great sum — they were all \$20 hills, for walkin around money hut it was a memorable way to begin a long friendship with Bill Casey, who ordered me out of his office lest I lose my innocence.

Later that day, when a black Republican leader from Philadelphia came in, I learned what "puttin' a roof on the church" meant. The Kennedy forces, in the grand tradition, had passed out "contribu-tions" to black ministers in the inner cities to urge their congregations to get to the polls and vote - which meant vote Democratic, because al-

crats. Our man went back to Philadelphia with about five grand, which be assured Mr. Hall would be used

to counter the Kennedy gifts.
It reminded me of the corrupt Albany judge who told a defendant's lawyer: "The plaintiff slipped me five thou to decide the case his way. Here's my idea: How about you giving me five thou too, and I'll decide the case on its ments? The practice of roofing churches

was not invented in the '60 campaign, nor did it end with it. On Aug. 9, 1976, The Associated Press reported: "The Jimmy Carter campaign gave donations to black ministers who supported him in the California primary and paid out other street money that was not properly ac-counted for the Los Angeles Times said in its Sunday editions." Charles Mohr of The New York

Times, covering the same story, wrote: "The use of subcontractors. or neighborhood leaders, who are given 'walking-around money' is an established part of political life in some cities.

Now, thanks to the curiously reformist Rollins Compulsion, revelation of the tradition of slipping a few bucks to precinct workers and a few more to ministers who mix politics with their preaching is causing Democratic pols to hyperventilate. Investigate! Prosecute! Re-run! No. We need a few good reporters

in several cities, preferably black and street smart, to lay out this hiparusan system for all to marvel at. Then it will stop. The hypocrisy here is in feigned ignorance. The New York Times.

For Europe, the Necessary Pain of Restructuring made it clear that they also want a

> are not working well, deregulation and lower labor costs are needed to countries are in danger of falling behind. Public decision-making is stuggish and costly. Too little attention is

closer to London and Paris than they are to each other. APEC might make some sense if it could act as a counter to EC or NAFTA protectionism. But in that case it would have to function as a more purely Asian bloc, as Malaysia

has already tried to suggest with its concept of an East Asia Economic Group, or EAEG.

Intense lobbying by Washington and Canberra has managed to stall the Malaysian idea; both feared their exclusion from the East Asia grouping. Official Japan has tried to rely malors. But these moves ultimately me.

### IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1893: Disaster Averted BARCELONA — Another bomb

outrage was attempted here last night [Nov. 14]. A number of troops were arching to the quay to embark for Melilla, and just as they were passing through the Plaza Real, a petard wa discovered upon the balcony of one of the houses overlooking the square. A workman, who noticed the burning of the fuse, with great presence of mind dashed forward and extinguished it. An examination shows that the bomb was one of a most destructive kind, and but for the promptness of the workman another terrible disaster would have resulted.

### 1918: William's Games

LONDON - Reasons for the Allies demanding the surrender of the Kaiser into their hands accumulate. There are strong suspicions that his abdication may be a theatrical sham, says the "Daily Express," and that he proposes to return to the stage. He

has signed no document renouncing his position, and has issued no fare-well to his troops or people. After wearing civilian clothes for a few hours, he is again strutting about in full uniform. What game is William of Hohenzollern playing?

### 1943: Secret Pact Denied WASHINGTON - [From our New

York edition: | Cordell Hall, Secretary of State, sat with eighty news correspondents today [Nov. 15] and gave them a preview of a report he will make in person to Congress on Nov. 18 - a report in which he emphasized that no secret agreements were made at Moscow, that none of the principles of the Atlantic Charter & was compromised, and that liberated nations in Europe would be allowed their own forms of government. He declared that the talks had been successful in launching a broad forward movement toward the preservation of peace and security and the promotion of better economic relations.

تعكذا من الأصل

# And Now They Oppose NAFTA?

WASHINGTON — The wote on By Charles Krauthammer those classic votes, like the Panama Canal Treaty, when the issue is one part reality, mine parts symbolism. Despite the dueling job numbers deployed no both sides of the issue, the net economic effect on the United States will be minimal.

It must be so. The Mexican economy is one-twentieth the size of America's. Jobs will be lost and jobs will be gained; more, undoubtedly, gained than lost. But in the great churning of a capitalist economy the size of America's, more jobs are gained and lost with the rising of the sun than with NAFTA.

Then what is NAFTA about? It is about America's vision of itself; of its relationship with its neighbors, and par-ticularly with the developing world. This NAFTA vote is not about economics

but about foreign policy.
This is what makes liberal hypocrisy on this issue unusually noteworthy. A of trouble in the Third World: "If Cenmajority of congressional Republicans tral America were not wracked with will cross partisan lines and support a poverty, there would be no revolution." Democratic president on NAFTA. The

majority of House Democrats will not. Those poised to kill NAFTA are traditional Democratic liberals.

Why is this hypocrisy? Because in the great foreign policy debates of the 1970s and 80s, liberals had two articles of faith: that the root cause of instability, revolution and anti-Americanism abroad was not communism but poverty, hunger and injustice; and that therefore the primary U.S. response to instability, revolution and anti-Americanism abroad ought to

be not military but economic. When on April 27, 1983, Ronald Reagan went before a joint session of Congress to ask for military aid to El Salva-dor, the Democrats protested. We are addressing the wrong problem, they said. Their national televised response gave the quintessential liberal analysis

### A Sure Recipe for Dickensian Conditions

IN MEXICO, Canada and the United States, even those seemingly unaffected by NAFTA will be worse off if it is carried out. NAFTA is Victorian economics and

NAFTA will be worse off if it is carried ont. NAFTA is Victorian economics and will foster Dickensian conditions.

The agreement would bind three countries in the straitjacket of 19th-century free market policies able to jeopardize governmental efforts to promote the long-term growth of productivity and living standards throughout the continent.

And it would sharply tilt the playing field, favoring footloose U.S. corporations as they bargain with employees over wages and working conditions, with communities over taxes and environmental issues and with local suppliers over prices.

NAFTA is equally bad for Mexico. There, the battering ram that will keep wages down is the flood of U.S. prairie-grown corn. It will bankrupt high-cost farmers, driving them to the cities in search of work, worsening an already severe labor surplus and putting downward pressure on wages. surplus and putting downward pressure on wages.

Samuel Bowles, professor of economics at the University of Massachusetts, and Mehrene Larudee, staff economist at the Center for Popular Economics, in Amherst, Massachusetts, writing in The New York Times.

### A Boon Only for Mexico's Wealthy Few

PRESIDENT Carlos Salinas de Gotari has been threatening a Mexican walkout on NAFTA if it is not approved as written and immediately. This position is

misleading. Mr. Salinas is posturing.

Mexico's economic and political situation is mostly independent of NAFTA. It is
the lack of democracy and progressive governmental policies over the last 65 years
of one-party government that have driven half the population toward poverty. A North American trade agreement could help reverse this trend. But, like many Mexicans, we believe that this NAFTA would be a bad deal for us, in part because it will lock in our intolerable political situation.

One political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party, has maintained a tight grip over every branch and level of the Mexican political scene. As a result, Mexico is not a democratic society where ciferent entered by the party of 
s not a democratic society where citizens can hold legislators accountable, fight for

a decent standard of living or ensure enforcement of our laws.

The lack of democracy in Mexico not only undermines our political stability; it impairs our economy. An unofficial deal between the governing party and a national labor union has caused the real buying power of the Mexican worker to drop by 50 percent in the past decade. The government's ncoliberal economic and domestic policies have devastated Mexico's small businesses and thrown small farmers off their land. The dispossessed are migrating to the big cities, where unemployment is already high—or to the United States. NAFTA would entrench and intensify these policies.

The chief winners of this NAFTA will be the wealthy business leaders already reaping enormous profits from Mr. Salinas's economic policies.

— Enrique Rico, Jorge Calderón, Miguel León and Manuel Huerta, members of the Mexican opposition party, Revolutionary Democratic Party, in The Washington Post.

, and had stated a state of the control of the Aug Anthropic and the state of the s

enemies into friends and secure American interests was not with military but with economic measures to light poverty

and underdevelopment.

What is the most revered liberal program for making friends and influencing people in the developing world? The Peace Corps. Liberals also preferred foreign economic aid to military hardware and trainers. They would point with embarrassment to the allegedly damn-ing fact that Sweden contributed a full 1 percent of GNP to foreign aid while America gave only a quarter as much.

A generation of experience has since

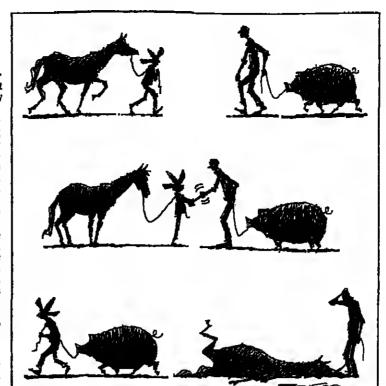
taught us that while the Peace Corps and foreign aid are ooble gestures, by far the best way of promoting development and erasing poverty abroad is trade. The great economic transformation of the Pacific Rim countries (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan) owes much to the larsighted Ameri-can view that opening U.S. markets to them would be a boon not just to American consumers but to Asian peasants.

would assure their prosperity, which would in turn create an arc of friendship with economically stable partners in the region.

What is killing newly free Poland, on the other hand, and helped bring a return to power of the ex-Communists, is the meanness of the West Europeans who have shut Poland out of their markets. Mexico is the next obvious case. By integrating Mexico into the American economic system, NAFTA would assure Mexican development. Here finally is the opportunity to do for Mexico what bberals have been saying for decades should be done for developing countries: prevent instability and hostility by fostering peaceful economic development.

One would expect resistance to this

idea from populists like Ross Perot and primitives like Patrick Buchanan, ac-cording to whose zero-sum xenophobia primitives like Patrick Buchanan, according to whose zero-sum xenophobia to kelping fer ners is a betrayal of the his principles and supports it.)



American patrimony. But from bberals? Liberals who for decades have been advocating just this kind of assistance to poor countries both as a moral obligation and as a national interest? Liberals who opposed military aid to El Salvador on the grounds that "We must hear the cry for bread, schools, work, and opportunity that comes from campesinos ev-

erywhere in this hemisphere."
(It is to the credit of Senator Christopber Dodd, the man who delivered the official Democratic response to Mr.

Finally, a chance to deliver on the most basic liberal foreign policy premise. And to do it oot in Poland or El Salvador, but on the U.S. border, the one place where deprivation and despair immediately spill over into the United States.

Yet most congressional Democrais have lined up opposed, baving entirely forgotten two decades of pious sermoos about American purposes abroad. And on the 30th anniversary, no less, of the assassination of John F, Kenoedy, founder of the Peace Corps, patron saint of this liberal visioo of enlightened internationalism.

Washington Post Writers Group.

### The Fun May Not Be Linear But Don't Write Off Chicago

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — When word reached the University of Chicago that a magazine published by Harvard students had ranked 300 universities in souls have been conceived at Rockefelterms of the fun to be found there and had ranked Chicago 300th, a Chicago undergraduate, probably bundled up against the razor-like wind off the lake, jauntily said: "Fun isn't linear." His riposte had the wittiness, and the oblique-

### MEANWHILE

ness, you expect from the school that expresses its intellectual brio in a song: "Anything you can do, we can do meta." Today this column rises in disinterested defense of fuo as the University of Chicago understands it. I have no connection with the place, other than

frieodships, and I do not begrudge the top ranking for fun given to Florida State, which I assume is a university worthy of its fontball team.

However, if Chicago had ont gone, almost ostentatiously, from being a foothall power — long ago, under coach Alonzo Stagg — to seeming to fancy itself ton damned serious for such stuff, per-haps it would not have had to suffer so many suggestions that only the slightly weird choose to enroll there. "The largest

collection of ocuratic youths since the Children's Crusades," and so on. The university was founded by a nononsense Baptist who did well in the oil business, John D. Rockefeller, His wizened visage suggested a soul lacking a spacious cooceptioo of fun. Nowadays freshmen assemble in September for their first lecture, on the aims of educa-

tion, in the chapel named for him. For many years the chapel was open ler Chapel than have been saved there. See? The libido is frisky at Chicago.

lo the most recent such address to the freshmen. Professor Richard Shweder of freshmen. Professor Richard Shweder of the Psychology Department offered his listeners some commandments conducive to fuo. First, "Don't stand up when your professor enters the room." Not that there is any danger of an American un-dergraduate doing that, but in some cul-tures students do. It is wrong to do it. Mr. Shweder said because we should detach Shweder said, because we should detach our evaluation of ideas from the social identity of the person voicing them.

It has taken humanity eons to rise that portion that has risen - above the fallacy that all knowledge is parochial and is the property of particular groups. Today we must be vigilant against people who would retribalize knowledge. They say there must be a black theory of this and a woman's "perspective" on that, and so on. Mr. Shweder says, "The authority of a voice has a lot to do with what is said and very little to do with who says it."

Another commandment is: "Never

take a Puritan to the Mooty Python show." A Puritan, says Mr. Shweder, exaggerates a virtue until it becomes a vice. A world that looks increasingly like "Monty Python's Flying Circus" offends Puritans, who want "a world governed by some perfectly enforced vir-tue." Imagine the nightmare of such perfect enforcement.

Perfect justice would require a world of watchful accountants and severe prosecutors — accountants of moral in-fractions, noting every error, indiscre-tion or dark desire, and prosecutors enforciog appropriate puoisbments. Protecting people from harm also is a virtue, and yet, says Mr. Shweder, if carried too far, the idea that you should protect everyooe from everything they might consider harmful is a recipe for "a society of thin-skinned complainers."

Mr. Shweder's commandment for preserving equilibrium is: "There are only two things you need to know to do dermatology." They are: "If it's dry make it wet. If it's wet, make it dry." The analogue for Chicago freshmen is: "If someone asserts it, deny it, If someone denies it, assert it." But, says Mr. Shweder, bear in mind that, "the world is incomplete if seen from any one point of view and incohereot if seen from all

the University of Chicago, where, as Mr. Shweder told the freshmen, "The brain is an erogenous zone and provocation is a virtue."

Washington Post Writers Group.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Democracy and Safety Regarding "When Panic Threatens Democracy" (Opinion, Oct. 30):

Richard Cohen agonizes about minor infringements of civil liberties in a police effort to stop the casual slaughter of passersby on Washington streets. It is a noble position and he will be praised for it. But it does nothing to enhance safety.

His article discloses an ignorance of any kind of free society but his own. In my nine years in France, I was accosted by plainclothes police on the Champs-Flysées, who searched my briefcase; on several occasions my car was stopped and I was politely instructed to open the glove compartment and the trunk, though the police had no search warrant. Telephone ougging is routine. Such behavior would have provoked a revolution in the United

States. Yet the French consider that they, too, live in a free and democratic society,

As an American lawyer I am concerned about infringements of civil liber-ties. Yet most of the landmark cases establishing the rigid limits of detection, examination and proof deal with minor crimes, devoid of political content.

America's problem is that its urban

society is disintegrating, perhaps irre-versibly, through unpunished crime. Law enforcement officials are shackled at every step from arrest to conviction.

What I fear most are noble defenders of arid principles, like Mr. Cohen. His pointless intransigence will eventually provoke a legislative backlash that could sweep away critical as well as trivial constitutional protections.

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ELWOOD A. RICKLESS. London,

### Legitimate Needs

Regarding "These Numbers on Births Tell a Frightening Story" (Opinion, Nov. 3) by George F. Will:

Does Mr. Will really believe that to figuratively paint scarlet letters on ille-gitimate children and their mothers "may be the only way" to balt the increase in such births in the United States? If so, he might be frightened at the outcome. The literal identification of these shameful souls might actually help address "the problem" (assuming, of course, that this is the real problem, and not just a symptom of something larger). If it turns out that 50 percent of all births are indeed to unmarried mothers in the year 2016, then their combined voting power will permit them to elect

leaders committed to addressing their needs - through sound public policy and governmental attention

SHANNON BAIRD. Hong Kong.

### Let Allies Be Allies

Regarding "French and Americans Playing a Dangerous Game" (Nov. 5): Flora Lewis should be congratulated for bringing sense and sanity to the usual-ly bitter, and often childish, squabble between American and French politicians over trade, It is clear that these two countries are allies and not enemies. In fact, the only enemies are greed, ignorance, selfishness and disinformation.

> JEAN-PIERRE SIDERSKI. St. Nom-la-Breteche, France.

points of view at once."

Such is fuo in a cold climate, at

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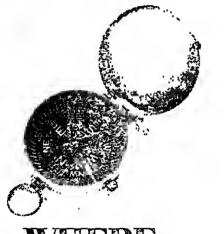








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Geoffrev Beene and the director Tom Kalin, and selections from Beene's new collection, displayed at the screening of the film on Beene's 30 years in fashion.

# Runway to Film: The Once and Future Beene

By Suzy Menkes International Herald Tribune

EW YORK — Dappled black and white shadows play on a bared back. The dress strokes the bosom and slithers to the ankles as the mysterious celluloid woman steps across the coarse grass and down a path to nowhere. "I remember my first reaction was that the back of the dress is very good-looking, but I'm not seeing the dress is very good-looking, but I'm not seeing sensibility" reflects Beene's roots in Louisiana, much of it!" says Geoffrey Beene of the scene from the "His clothes are equally about restraint and seduc-

THE WRATH OF NA-

TIONS: Civilization and

By William Pfaff, 256 pages.

NATIONALISM is bleody-minded and backward. It is

also here to stay. That is the grim

and utterly convincing message of "The Wrath of Nations," a medita-

tion on the meaning of nationalism by William Pfaff, columnist and

the author of "Barbarian Sentiments." Armed with an encyclope-

dic knowledge of European history

and contemporary international politics, Pfaff offers a comprehen-

sive and stimulating introduction

to the most powerful political force

on earth today.

There are no hard and fast rules

about what constitutes a nation,

Pfaff suggests. A common language

unites the French but has failed to weld the Yugoslavs together. Ameri-cans are not united by ethnic ori-

gins, a universal language or reli-gious beliefs; the Serbs and the Bosnians have more in common

with each other than say, a New

England Yankee and a Korean im-

migrant in Los Angeles. If history

were logical, the Yugoslavs would

be one nation and the Americans a

Nationalism. Pfaff reminds us, is

absurd. It is an emotion that nei-

ther depends on nor observes the

rules of logic. Nationalism is not an

idea, but a prejudice - like racism

or, to put it more positively, like family feeling. It is, Pfaif says, an

expression of the love of the partie-

ular: the normal human tendency

to cherish and serve one's family

and clan at the expense of larger,

more abstract realities. A nation is

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Walter Russell Mead

Reviewed by

the Furies of Nationalism

**BOOKS** 

Walter Jens, president of the Academy of Arts in Berlin, is read-

ing the works of Theodor Forume.

Every year, at least once a year.

administer myself a narcotic:

Theodor Fontane. This year I am

rereading his works for the 80th

time. I love Fontane. For me he is the most humane, most tolerant of

ally bound to one another and

within limits, responsible for one

The message of the French and

American revolutions, on the other

hand, is universal and rational: All

people everywhere, regardless of

creed and blood, are equally en-dowed with inalienable rights. No

The conflict between these two

approaches has helped shape mod-

ern history. Pfaff tells us. German

resistance to French armies and

French universal philosophies gave

hirth to modern German national-

ism during the Napoleonic Wars.

In 1914 nationalism triumphed

over universalism: Both the French

and German socialists, though ad-

hering in theory to a universalistic

creed, followed their national flags

into battle. Today the abstract in-

ternational dreams of the Europe-

an Community confront the em-

loyalties of the West Europeans.

bedded national prejudices and

Pfaff shows that the conflict be-

tween nationalism and universalism

is tragic; it cannot be avoided, and

both sides are flawed. Our heads

insist on the equality of all human beings and the need for impartial

universal systems of justice and mo-

rality. Our hearts respond that charity begins at home — with father.

mother. fatherland and motherland.

cold-blooded, purposeful "liquida-

tions" of classes and nations in the

nation is superior to any other.

(David Molner, 1HT)

all writers."

another's well-being

ion industry, "30" is a model of restraint: The designer does not even appear in the Cocteauesque tale of jealousy and revenge played out in a castle and its grounds. Imagine the story line of "Last Year at Marienhad," the surreal touch of Fellini, a silent-movie cast costumed in elegant evening dresses spanning Beene's working lifetime, and you get the graphic picture. Kalin says that you can find among the many movie

references the duel Greta Garbo played out in "Flesh and the Devil" and Blanche Du Bois, whose "southern

arresting film that celebrates his 30 years in fashion. tion - and I'm interested in clothed eroticism. I Beene, more than ever forward-looking at age 64, wanted to put the clothes in a context," says Kalin, asked the film director Tom Kalin, 31, to direct a Beene who made his reputation with "Swoon," a study of the

WHAT THEY BE READING

a moral community in which the murderously rampant in Eastern

The book is not without short-

comings. The abundance of histori-

cal detail and the occasionally un-

even narrative structure can

sometimes make Pfail's trail hard to

follow. Readers who already know

the historical background will be a

little annoyed at being so continual-

ly and distractedly reminded of it, while those unfamiliar with it will be

somewhat overwhelmed. Plaff is

also much more authoritative talk-

ing about Europe than about other

parts of the world. His analysis of

India, China, Japan and the Muslim

world is interesting but it lacks the

sure magisterial touch of his under-

standing of the Atlantic community.

This is in keeping with Pfaff's un-fashionable but well-argued conten-

tion, expressed elsewhere, that Eu-

rope remains the central arena for the world's political development.

the reader to a new view of some

very old ideas: that human prob-

lems have their roots in human na-

nure; that no social system or set of

ideas can ever provide a completely

satisfactory solution for the contra-

dictory impulses of our nature; that

human societies and human indi-

viduals nevertheless have an ines-

capable obligation to live up to the

It is to history as a moral battle-

ground that Pfaff returns us - not

as an apocalyptic struggle between

best that is in them.

Neither nationalism nor univer- empires evil and good, but as the

salism is enough: we can neither sum and product of the countless

choose between these alternatives struggles of burnan beings in their nor synthesize them into something daily lives. History, we are remind-

that meets all our needs. The histo- ed here, is what we make it. That is

pen to the rational, enlightened, spiring of this profoundly thought-

universalistic approach to history: ful and deeply felt book.

is the hot-blooded nationalism now New York Times.

In his closing pages, Pfaff brings

members feel themselves emotion- Europe any less of one?

fashion movie. Among the books of hagiography and Leopold-Loeb case in the 1920s.

vainglorious celebrations that are endemic to the fash
"I was nervous that there wasn't any form to refer

Giorgio Armani that is a byword in the lashion industry for a so-called art movie that comes over as a soft-focus sales pitch, and to the advertisements for a Calvin Klein. fragrance that stopped just this side of soft porn.

story. It seems pretentious, if you see it as a fancy wayto show a fashion retrospective; but it is justifiable in the context of the designer's constant yearning to stretch boundaries of technique. The weakness of the film is that it imprisons Beene's clothes into a framework of past style; its strength is that it proves how

timeless his clothes are.

Women of all ages flit through house and garden wearing dresses that span a quarter of a century. An accompanying catalogue, with an essay by Richard Martin curator of the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum, reinforces the message. It pictures six women, including 90-year-old Eleanor Lambert, wearing Beene's designs — as well as the utterly contemporary 1967 evening dress re-creating in sequins the striped sleeves and number motif of a football jersey.

It also shows Joan Crawford, who, says Ber "stirred the whole nation by the way she dressed." He was aketching her costumes in his anatomy book when he decided to give up medical studies to take up fashion.

previously used modern dance to show his clothes and why the medium of film makes sense for his work. The jumpsuit that is an integral part of each collection is symbolic of an easy, modern freedom.

The idea of being inspired by the body is forever, says Beene, "People say that my clothes are so timeless"
— only time can prove that. But even in the 1960s I
didn't follow trends, I didn't follow Carnaby Street. I

The new collection, which was shown in a still-life "Film is the future, it is opening the heart of the exhibition at the film's screening, emphasized the airy matter and I shall never go back to models again," he

to," he says. "Then someone did an Armani profile of a lashion designer. I knew that I didn't want to make something that looked like an Obsession ad. But I was never made to feel that I was making a film to show a braid and buttons stencibing the silhonette of a pastel-checked tweed jacket, or even the shock of a plain black dress against a gingham-checked tailor's dummy. At the heart of the exhibition was Beene's belief in

cut. A group of silky jersey dresses, shaped and draped with the minimum of seams, wrapped the torso like an Kalin was referring to the Martin Scorsese film about apron or caressed the figure gently, always working with the body, rather than against it. Beene's hias cut dresses, or even his ankle-length shirt-soft coat in pin-striped wool, seem to follow the philosophy of Madeleine Vionnet that "you must dress a body in a fabric, not

> "I'm always trying to beat technology to it," says Beene. "My work is about simplification. The challenge is to take the fabric and with just one or two

EENE, who has recently added furniture to his design pantheon, started his fashion ca-reer in display for L Magnin in Los Angeles before he moved to New York to study lashion, and then subsequently to the Chambre Syndicale school in Paris. He had a brief period with master tailor Edward Molyneux, returned to New York in 1949 and finally founded his own business with a first collection in 1963. In spite of its sleek modernism, his work has strong links to Paris couture as well as to

American sportswear.

In fact, Beene was not the only designer to use the medium of film to promote his work during the New York season. Both Donna Karan and Calvin Klein used movie clips to set the scene for their collections. Although these were overtly promotional, the movie But in a way, Beene never gave up on anatomy, for images reinforced the mood of the shows that followed the essence of his work is that it starts with the body and suggested that American designers may be forging and follows its movements — which is why he has

the runway presentation. Most designers would feel that the Beene film did not locus enough on the clothes. The designer con-cedes that he at first intimated as much to Kalin, who replied, "Mr. Beene, you could have used a slide presentation." Kalin says that he enjoyed the project

and "I have still never been to a runway show." How does Beene feel now about his decision to have had my own idea about the body and designing invest 30 years of work and his own money in a 35minute movie?

lightness of Bezne's work, the curvy shapes of his newest says. "It meant delving very deeply into what the film jackets and the imaginative cocktails of fabric that can do for clothes and to make other people emotion-Martin calls "indiscreet liaisons." That might be n fine mesh on the cutaway back of a jersey jumpsuit; bright never seen before of my clothes. We have to move on."

2

### CHESS

By Robert Byrne

HE pretourney favorites, Elena Donaldson of Mercer Island, Washington, and Irina Le-vitina of Teaneck, New Jersey, shared first prize in the 34th United

from Latvia to Brooklyn two years ago, also won \$450 for her third place tie.

Khan won her brilliancy prize at the expense of Levitina in Round 1. a game that was outstanding more for its logic than for its fireworks.

After 2...d6, it would have been

standard in the Rath Opening for Levitina to have continued with the thematic doubling of the f pawns with 3 Bi6 ef. instead, she tranposed with 3 Nc3 Nbd7 4 e4 e5 into a Pirc Defense, in which the bishop ry of Marxism shows what can hap- the conclusion, both sad and in- at g5 might turn out to be misplaced. Indeed, after 5 f4?! h6!. yielding up the bishop-pair with 6 Bi6 Qi6 was forced because 6 Bh4?

Walter Russell Mead, who is the of wins a pawn for Black. interest of human brotherhood. It senior policy adviser at the World was a monstrous perversion - but Policy Institute, wrote this for The



Position after 32 Rd1

comfortable end game. On 12...O-

O-O, Levitina would have been

well-advised to get rid of one bish-

Khan gradually improved her position, knocking out the key

white center pawn with 15... 15 16 ef

op with 13 h4 and 14 Bh3.

trol of the d file to Khan, but there was no avoiding that. After 30 Rf1 Rd2 31 f5 Bg8, Khan's threat was to increase the activity of her pieces

Probably Levitina's losing of rook for bishop with 32 RdI Bb2! 33 Kb2 RdI was not an oversight but a desperate sacrifice to get some freedom in her constricted position. But Khan held to her relentless, logical track and gave her opponent no chance to fight back.

After 40 Ng2 Rf5, Levitina realized that 41 Bg6 Rf2 would have been quite hopeless, no matter whether she played 42 Re3 Re3 or 42 Be4 Re2, and she gave up.

**RUTH OPENING** 

States Women's Championship in August at the McLean Country Arts Center in Bloomington, Illi-

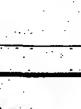
But the winner of the \$100 brilliancy prize, 17-year-old Anna Khan, was a surprise, since seven players were ranked ahead of her at the start. Khan, who emigrated

With 8...Nb6 and 9...Bg4, Khan developed smoothly and after ID g3 ed 11 Qd4 Qd4 12 Rd4 she had a

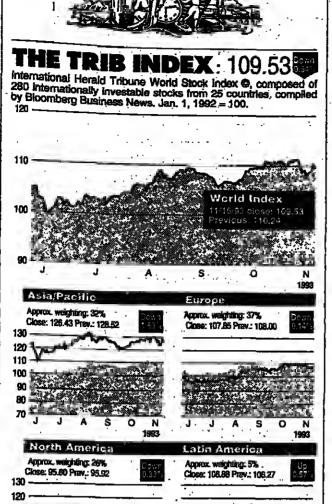
Increasing her control of the board with 26...d4, Khan quickly established a thorn-in-the-flesh knight outpost with 28, Ne3. Levitina's eliminating of the knight with 29 Ne3 de yielded con-

Bi5 and taking a grip in that sector, with 17...d5. Next she seized the e file with 20...Rde8 and obtained a higger hite in the center with

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Utilities	115.46	115,79	-0.28	Raw Materials	105.38	105.08	+0.29
Finance	118,48	119,71	-1.03	Consumer Goods	. 93.98	94,34	-0.38
Services	118.63	119.56	-0.78	Miscellaneous · ·	122,86	122,66	+0.16

# In U.S., Investors Dive for Cover

By Jonathan Fuerbringer

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In the last

several weeks, Curt Pippen, a semiretired oral surgeon in Glendale, Arizona, has taken threequarters of his money out of stocks and put it into a less vola-tile fixed-income mutual fund, where his investments could earn a lot less but are safer.

"I think interest rates are going to be rising, and I am not much of a Clinton fan," Mr. Pippen, 51. said, adding that he expected stock prices in tumble soon. "In other words, I'm afraid." Mr. Pippen is not the only one worried about losing money,

judging from investment patterns

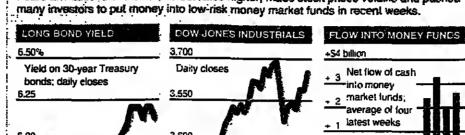
of the past few weeks and the

calls some brokers say they have fielded from investors about the rise in interest rates and the lofty levels of the stock market. According to Fidelity Invest-ments, the largest mutual fund operator in the United States, the first six days of November saw

the largest average daily net inflows into money market funds in three years. Money market funds pay less than 3 percent interest on average, but because the principal is protected, they are safe from the losses that bond and stock funds

could see if the market turns sour. "I think it is probably a sign that people are getting cautious," Roger Servinson, a managing di-

Jittery Markets, Jittery Investors Fears of inflation have sent interest rates higher, made stock prices volatile and pushed



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Sources: Datastraam: AMG Data Services

rector in charge of retail sales and marketing at Fidelity, said. The movement into money market funds is just one indication of investor nervousness.

Many investors and money managers say they have taken money out of bond and stock funds, and homeowners are scramhling to lock in interest rates on mort-

"I think Wall Street is getting and oropelled the Dow Jones invery skittish and nervous." Susan Ahuza, a money manager in Rye. New York, said, "I truly believe that the market is going down 150 to 200 points in the next two

One reason for the fears is that the stock rally that began with the United States' initial military success in the Gulf War in 1991

dustrial average to a new high of 3.697.64 points this month has sputtered in recent days. The average fell 6.99 points to 3,677.52

The bond raily, which brought long-term yields to 5.78 percent last month, their lowest level in

See INVEST, Page 11

# Court Frees Baby Bells to Offer Data

WASHINGTON - The Supreme Court on Monday let the big regional American telephone companies continue offering informa-tion services such as home education and elec-

tronic yellow pages,

The court, without comment, rejected arguments by consumer groups and information competitors that a lower court wrongly let the seven Baby Bell companies enter the highly

Those groups say the regional Bells could gain a monopolistic advantage through their ownership of the phone lines.

The case stems from the 1982 court-super-

vised breakup of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. as the result of the federal government's antitrust lawsuit.

The breakup agreement, approved by Judge

Harold Greene of U.S. District Court, stripped AT&T of its local phone companies and set up

The agreement barred the seven companies from providing information services by tele-phone. But in 1987, the Justice Department reversed its position and backed their request to offer services such as home shopping, stock quotes and transmission of medical records.

Judge Greene ruled against the regional com-panies. But the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ordered him to reconsider and base his ruling on whether he could be certain that letting the regional Bells offer such services would harm competition.

After the Supreme Court let the appeals court ruling stand. Judge Greene reluctantly

lifted the han in July 1991. He said the appeals court ruling left him with no choice.

The appeals court later ruled that Judge Greene only had the authority to decide whether the Justice Department's recommendation was reasonable — a standard under attack in the appeal acted on Monday.

In that appeal, the consumer and information groups lawyers said the ruling wrongly gave the Justice Department "effective control over judicial decisions" on whether to approve any settlement involving the government.

Justice Department lawyers said the ruling did not require automatic approval of antitrust agreements. But they said the federal government, not a judge, should have the authority to decide whether an agreement will promote competition "as long as it has a reasonable basis for its prediction."

the company's recent estimates.

■ Bull Plans for Write-Off

Groupe Bull, in anticipation of

month shrinking the value of its

The computer maker, which has

to 20 francs each from 200. The

change would wipe out 3.6 hillion of its capital of 3.96 billion francs.

Analysis said the move also

would allow Bull to write off losses

and clean up its balance sheet before

munity that the aid to Bull is part of

ance sheet could be part of its effort.

before the end of this year and one

in 1994, will be voted on by share-

holders at an extraordinary meeting

The recapitalization, which is likely to take place in two stages, one

capital by 90 percent.

AFX, Bloomberg, Reuters)

# German Advisers See Little Room For a Recovery

By Brandon Milchener tional Herald Tribane FRANKFURT — Germany's Council of Economic Advisers said Monday that its forecast for economic stagnation in West Germany

leaned more toward a contraction than a recovery and did not rule out the possibility of a double-dip re-The group, known as the five

wise men, also east doubt on goverament predictions that an increase in exports would lift the economy out of recession next year. In their annual report, some details of which were leaked Friday, the advisers said pan-German job-

lessness would hit a postwar record of 4.02 million for 1994. That would be about half a million more than the government expects.

Regarding the possibility of douhle-dip recession, they said: "We cannot answer this question with any sense of certainty." While the group said it did see a "good

chance" for a change for the better, "whether it will be realized in the coming year isn't known." The West German economy is expected to shrink 2 percent this year. Herbert Hax, the group's chairman, said its forecast for "mi-

in 1994 meant "in the range zero to minus 0.25 percent." The government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl has said that Germany's long recession appears to be over and that the West German economy might grow hy as much a 1.5 percent in 1994.

nus zero" growth in West Germany

Exports will rise 2.5 percent in 1994, after falling 8.5 percent in 1993, the council predicted, Imports will climh 0.5 percent, after a decline to 10.5 percent this year. It said that consumer price inflation would slow to between 2.5 percent

and 3 percent next year. The German economy will have to help itself, and only then can it hope for assistance from elsewhere," the advisers said.

The group predicted the Bundeshank would continue to trim shortterm interest rates as money supply growth slowed. They also called on the government to speed up the process of privatization and of

making cuts in government subsi-dies to industry. They also urged German unions to sacrifice shortterm wage gains for the sake of longer-term job security.

Some of the economists' harshest See WISE, Page 14

### Commission Urges EC Austerity

By Tom Buerkle International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS - In an analysis that offers no new or quick solutions in Europe's economic crisis. the EC Commission is urging governments to stick with anti-inflation austerity policies as the best hope of hringing down interest rates and stimulating economic growth and johs.

The commission calls lower rates "the most potent instrument presently available to boost short-term prospects" in the European Community, according to a draft docu-ment on economic policy guidelines quoted by Reuters on Monday and

confirmed by EC officials. Short-term interest rates "should come down rapidly, and long-term rates would follow," the document said, if member states get inflation down to 2 to 3 percent and control their deficits.

Commission officials said they were not calling on France and other countries to cut short-term rates independently of Germany, however. They stressed that rates would come down only if governments persevered with stringeol economic policies.

There is a hig difference between saying you pave the way to cut interest rates, or you just cut them." one official said. The commission, the EC's execu-

tive body, also calls in the docu-ment for strict limits on wage in-See EC, Page 10

### Thinking Ahead

# America's Chilly Message for Europe

By Reginald Dale International Herald Tribune

ASHINGTON - "Western Europe is no longer the dominant area of the world." Although that might seem like a statement of the obvious, many Europeans were taken aback when the U.S. secretary of state, Warren M. Christopher, recently said out loud what Americans have long thought.

Europeans are right to be worried. Mr. Christopher's remarks were more than just the diplomatic "shot across the bows" that some Enropeans took them to be. They reflected deep-scated changes in the real world -and in the way America is approaching the

Europeans should start thinking about what it means for themselves when Mr. Christopher says that "America's future is increasingly linked to Asia." He is obviously quite right. Nowhere will provide a better glimpse of

that future than the Asia-Pacific summit meeting in Scattle this week, at which President Bill Clinton hopes in lay the foundations of what he calls a "new Pacific community." Although the 15 nations attending the

summit are unlikely to take more than a few first hesitant steps toward a regional trade and economic grouping, it is clear that the meeting reflects a fundamental rebalancing of world economic power in favor of Asia. Americans have generally been quicker than Europeans to appreciate the significance

of what is happening. And the transfer of America's attention from the Atlantic to the Pacific is being accelerated by widespread U.S. frustration with Europe, even among the

traditional East Coast Atlanticist establish-

Most Americans see Europe as increasingly inward-looking and protectionist. They find it hard to sympathize with Europeans over the trials and tribulations of the Maastricht treaty and they are angered by constant French-inspired trade disputes. They see lit-

The Seattle meeting reflects a rebalancing of world economic power in favor of Asia.

tle prospect for European economic growth, and they are appalled by European impo-

In any case, the influence of the Atlanticists is continuing its long slow decline as other American cultures, originating in Africa, Latin America and Asia, gain ground. Increasingly, the United States is becoming a microcosm of the whole world, not just of the Old World.

Lingering sentimental attachments to Europe cannot alter the fact that the Asia-Pacific region is the world's most economically dynamic area; that it accounts for nearly half of world output and trade, and that it represents the biggest potential market for American exports. Already more than half of America's trade is with the Asia-Pacific region; that is 50 percent more than its trade

jobs, as Americans overwhelmingly demand-ed in a recent opinion survey, it makes much more sense to take on Asia as a partner than

That does not mean that the United States and Asia are about to rush into a close em-brace. The millions of vocal Americans who fear free trade with Mexico are hardly going to be thrilled at the idea of free trade with huge, low-wage economies like those of China. India and Indonesia, to say nothing of

Although the U.S. administration appears enamored of the process of constructing a Pacific community, it has no clear vision of the end result it would like to see.

Many Asian countries are reluctant in move too quickly, or even to commit their futures to a group containing the United

But the overall direction is clear, and it would become much clearer if the Uruguay Round of world trade talks were to fail as a result of European intransigence. If there cannot be a new, improved structure for world trade, it obviously would be much more urgent for the United States and the Asians to explore a second-best solution at

If the Europeans do not like the thought of that, there are a number of things they can do. They can work harder than ever to make Uruguay Round a success, which means really turning up the heat on France.

They can put greater energy into forging their own links with Asia. They can use the

NATO summit meeting in January to con-vince Mr. Clintoo that if Europe is not the If the main aim of U.S. foreign policy is to be the creation and preservation of American America neglects at its peril. center of the world, it is still one part of it that

### **CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES**

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U.S. dollars per ounce. London official Inlags: Zurich and New York opening and con-Sermony. 635 635 640 645 645 Ing prices: New York Comex (Dec.) 

# France Sets a Price For Khône-Poulenc

1994.

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches PARIS - Finance Minister Edmond Alphandery, pursuing his conservative government's series of sales of state-controlled companies, said Monday the public offering of shares in the chemical group Rhone-Poulenc SA had been priced at 135 francs (\$22.85) a share.

He said the sale of the government's series of priva-ment's 43 percent stake in Rhône-tizations began with the sale of Ban-Poulenc would start Tuesday and close a week later. The French chemical concern's stock rose 2.26 percent Monday, closing on the Bourse at 153.60 francs a share.

Individuals will be able to huy Rhône-Poulenc shares at their hanks and can apply for a minimum of five shares a person and a maximum of 60 during the offering period. Mr. Alphandery said the exact number of shares individual investors would receive would be nown about Nov. 25. suffered heavy losses, plans to re-Payment will be due Dec. 3. In-duce the nominal value of its shares known about Nov. 25.

vestors keeping their shares at least 18 months will get one free share for each 10 held that long, up in a limit of a 30,000 franc investment. The Finance Ministry also announced Monday that Groupe Axa, Credit Suisse and Fiat France receiving 8.6 hillion francs in fresh SA would join the group of core shareholders in Rhône-Poulene must convince the European Comand that Banque Nationale de Paris and Société Générale would in-crease their stakes in the company. a restructuring that will make the company profitable, and a solid balcrease their stakes in the company. The companies are all being

awarded shares through the government's sale of a 6 percent stake in core holders, which is part of the privatization of the company. Core shareholders, which will now control 24 percent of the com-

in December, according to an offi-cial announcement. The French pany's capital, agree to hold all their shares for at least three months and at least 80 percent of government holds 72 percent of Bull

Mr. Alphandery said the government expected the privatization of Rhône-Poulenc to hring it about 13 percent. (IHT, AFX)

directly, France Telecom bolds 16 percent, International Business Machines Corp. 5.6 percent, NEC

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EUROPEAN FUTURES

### **MARKET DIARY**

# Dow Loses Ground As Data Hit Bonds

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches NEW YORK - Stock prices moved lower Monday on sharply reduced volume as bond prices softened in the wake of data pointng to a risk of inflation. Signs of nervousness Blso

### N.Y. Stocks

emerged over whether the House of Representatives will approve the North American Free Trade Agree-ment this week. "If NAFTA Joesn't pass, the stock market could come down substantially." . uid Richard Ciardullo, head trader

i Eagle Asset Management. The Dow Jones industrial averge lost 6.99 points, to 3.677.52.
Declining stocks outpaced advanors hy a 3-to-2 ratio. Volume mounted to about 250 million hares, down from more than 320 million Friday.

Early gains were undermined hy falling bond prices following stronger than-expected increases in in-Justrial production and factory utiread slipped 6/32 in price, to 101 2/32, for a yield of 6.16 percent, up

om 6.14 percent Friday. "We're seeing a pickup in eco-nomic activity." said Robert Bluestone, managing director and head . I fixed-income investments at Oprenheimer Capital. "People asso-

ate that with higher inflation."
But other analysts discounted .oncerns over the factory activity report by saying that inflation as measured by such readings as producer and consumer prices was negligible for now.

Meanwhile, observers said the market currently had a strong upward hias. Paul S. Rabbitt, of Oppenheimer & Co. in Los Angeles said be expected the recent rally "to carry upward another week," possihly reaching as high as 3,725, "be-

fore pausing to gather strength."

Paramount Communications skidded 314 to 7934 despite news that QVC Network had raised its bostile bid to \$10.6 hillion. Viacom has hid \$9.7 billion for Paramount in a friendly deal. QVC rose 2% to 51% in over-the-counter trading, while Viacom class A shares fell 11: to 53% on the American Stock Exchange.

CBS rose 8% to 30312 and Capi tal Citles/ABC climbed 9% to 629 after it became known a federal judge granted the major networks permission to own financial interests in programs. General Electric, owner of NBC, added % to 94%. Berkshire Hathaway Inc. fell 350

to 17,225 after reporting a drop in third-quarter net income due to a tax-related charge: operating earnings more than doubled, however. led hy surge in profit from property Motorola fell 24 to 100% after

UAL, parent of United Airlines, lost 514 to 142%, after unions threatened to disrupt the carrier's activities following the collapse of negoti-

Argosy Gaming climbed 1 to 24½ over-the-counter after the Louisiana Riverboat Commission said the casino company could be a designated operator and general partner of the limited partnership that will own a planned riverboat

casino in Buton Rouge.
(Knight-Ridder, Bloomberg, AP)

### **Dollar Rises Slightly** As Yen Turns Weaker

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches NEW YORK - The dollar rallied against other major currencies Monday, jumping against the yen amid concern that Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa's efforts to

### Foreign Exchange

change Japan's political system

may be blocked. Failure to enact legislation simed at rooting out corruption would erode faith in Mr. Hosokawa's government and the yen, analysts said.

"If Hosokawa can't get his politi-ial reforms through, his govern-ment could collapse," Earl Johnson, foreign-exchange adviser at Herris Trust & Savings Bank in Chicago, said. "That's why people

The dollar rose to 106.685 year Monday from 105.685 yen at Frially's close, and to 1.6935 Deutsche

Tarks from 1.6848 DM.
It also gained to 1.4934 Swiss francs from 1.4890 francs before the weekend, and to 5.8780 French iranes from 5.8670. The pound lipped to \$1.4885 from \$1.4923.

fraders sold yen after reports from Tokyo said Mr. Hosokawa's government had been unable to of the opposition Liberal Democratic Party on political changes, recentially delaying action on his

rtoposals.
This is a knee-jerk reaction." David de Rosa, director of foreignsuchange trading at Swiss Bank Corp., said. "When there's a political crisis somewhere, you sell the

The dollar also henefited from

Continued from Page 9

creases, reductions in payroll taxes

and greater flexibility in the labor

remain contentious in the Commu-

nity, the commission president,

Jacques Delors, warned in a speech

in British industrialists that Europe

minot regain its competitiveness

"An effective long-term policy to

generate growth and employment

must be geared also to increasing

productivity," according to the text

of Mr. Delors' speech. The address

was delivered in Harrogate, Eng-

land, by the commission's secretary-

general, David Williamson, after

The commission's emphasis on

short-term interest rates seems to

contrast with the stance of most

Mr. Delors fell ill with influenza.

only by driving down wages.

positive economic news and some forecasts that the North American Free Trade Agreement would survive the vote on it scheduled for the House of Representatives on

Wednesday. The Federal Reserve Board said industrial production rose by a larger-than-expected 0.8 percent in October, adding to a recent string of reports that shows the U.S. recovery gaining momentum.

Speculation that the trade agree ment among the United States. Mexico and Canada would pass its test in the House also helped the dollar gain. Traders said the market was tending to bet that President Bill Clinton would persuade enough lawmakers to support the treaty. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen said Mr. Clinton was "awhe needs in the House.

"NAFTA's failure would be had for the dollar because it would show that Clinton doesn't have much political clout," Dennis Pettit, foreign-exchange manager at Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan,

Joyce Chang, vice president of Emerging Markets Research at Sal-omon Brothers, said that if the trade agreement was rejected, "The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiations would suffer, as the negotiating positions of all 116 countries involved likely would harden, and the Clinton administration would lose credibility as an effective negotiator.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Hosokawa are to meet in Seattle at the end of the week, and trade issues are expected to be at the top of their

rates that are more important for

Commission officials said short-

term rates were crucial for small and

medium-sized companies, which

beavily rely on short term borrow-

said, declines in short-term rates

should help boost the confidence of

derscores the limited options Euro-

With budget deficits across the

Community running at a post-World War II record of more than 6 percent of gross domestic prod-

policymakers have in the

term, officials and analysts

consumers and husinesses.

investment and growth.



S&P 100 Index Options Amex Diary

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### U.S./AT THE CLOSE

ISI Logic Unveils New Chip Process

SAN JOSE, California (AP) — LSI Logic Inc., the semiconductor maker, said Monday it had developed a new process that allows up to 9 million transistors to fit on a single silicon chip.

The process is designed to reduce the line width of circuit elements on a

chip to 0.5 microns. Although others manufacturers have made 0.5micron circuits, LSI is the first to develop the means to pack so many transistors onto a single chip on a commercial basis, analysts said.

Today's top-of-the-line Intel Corp. processor, called Pentium, is 0.8 micron chip. The PowerPC, developed by International Business Machines Corp., Apple Computer Inc. and Motorola Inc. is a 0.65-mercus chip.

### Perella to Do M&A at Morgan Stanley

NEW YORK (Combined Dispatches)—Joseph R. Perella, one of Wall Street's top and merger specialists, joined Morgan Stanley Group Inc. as a senior banker and managing director, the firm announced Monday.

Mr. Perella, co-founder of Wasserstein Perella & Co., is expected to focus on mergers and acquistions, client relationships and invest banking, with an emphasis on international deals.

### Price Cuts Hit Kmart's Bottom Line

CHICAGO (Combined Dispatches) - Kmart Corp. reported Monday that earnings in the third quarter dropped 23.0 percent, to \$94 million from \$122 million last year, because of a price-cutting program. Sales some to \$9.8

The company said it expected a last-in, first-out inventory credit for the full year due to declining prices it pays for merchandise. At the same time, however, it said it expected a \$450 million pretax charge in the fourth quarter because of an asset sale.

(Knight Ridder, AFK, Remers)

### Subic Bay Hub for Federal Express

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Federal Express Corp. said Monday it would open a regional transportation center at Subic Bay in the Philip-pines, with operations expected to begin within 18 months. The new operation will be located at an airfield formerly used by the

U.S. Navy.

"Our decision to open this facility in the Republic of the Philippines is based on the growth in express shipping we are seeing throughout Southeast Asia," said Frederick Smith, chief executive officer of Federal

### Chrysler Adds 7,100 to Work Force

NEW YORK (Knight-Ridder) — Chrysler Corp. said Monday it has rehired 2,700 people who had been laid off and made 4,400 new hires since the middle of 1992 amid a surge in sales.

Though a callagher, vice president of employee selations, said that strong demand for Chrysler vehicles has put "Chrysler in a hiring rather than a level president."

than a layoff position.

Chrysler's total vehicle sales for the first 10 months of 1993 are nearly 23 percent higher than in the same period of 1992. Sales in October had risen nearly 9 percent from a year ago.

### Weekend Box Office The Associated Press LOS ANGELES - Walt Disney's "The Three Musketeers" topped the U.S. box office last weekend. Following are the Top 10 moneymakers based on Friday ticket sales and estimated sales for Saturday and Sunday 1, "The Three Must 2. "Carlito's Way" 3. "My Life" (Walt Disney Pictores)



reduced payroll taxes, increased deficits was "ridiculous." France

flexibility in working hours and im- enjoyed both as recently as last

proved training and education, will year, he noted, but kept its short-

will not satisfy those in the finan-cial markets who contend that December will resemble the draft

edition due to techni-EC: Community Is Urged to Stick With Austerity for Lower Interest Rates

Richard Davidson, an economist

term rates high to match Germa-

ny's. That policy served only to

that has widened its deficit dramat-

ically, he said.

The only way out is to cut shon-

term rates now, he argued. "It's the

quickest way out of the unemploy-

men! situation. It's the quickest

The commission's policy guide-

lines must be approved by the member states. But officials pre-

dicted that the final guidelines that

way out of the deficit situation."

not available for this eal problems at Agence France-Presse. We regret the inconve-

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### On Mexico's Bolsa, NAFTA Spells Roller Coaster tor the Mexican bank Grupo Fin- stock market on its generally up- direct and indirect investment in By Jay Mathews anciero Serfin, ward, if often erratic, course, Mr. Mexico. Washington Post Service

NEW YORK - Here in the United States, the down-to-thewire debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement follows the usual political game rules. One side gets a fevorable headline one day, the other side the next. Players beep their cool until the last vote is

But on one of Mexico City's most glittering boulevards, in the Mexican stock market's glass domed huilding called La Bolsa, or The Purse, the ups and downs of this American pastime are driving

"It's been B roller coaster, absolute madness," said Daniel Goldstein, director of equity research

of his citizens organization that the at about 1,500 a year ago and now treaty is comatose and the Mexican market, full of NAFTA lovers, drops 20 points as measured by the IPC index, the main Mexican stock market harometer. Another day President Bill Clinton coaxes another member of Congress into the NAFTA camp and the Mexican traders at La Bolsa celebrate a 20-

point jump.
On Wednesday, the index soared 81.49 points on a orief upsurge of opumism brought on by nothing more than Vice President Al Gore's television debate victory over Mr.

One day Ross Perot tells a rally Goldstein noted the IPC index was is hobbing over 2,000.

fused to cut short-term rates ag- uet, governments do not have the cut short-term rates sharply to re-

exchange-rate mechanism in Au- remedies for Europe's johs crisis at Morgan Stanley & Co. in Longust, arguing instead that caurion that Mr. Delors is preparing for the don, said making rate cuts depen-would lead to falls in long-term EC summit in December, such as dent on low inflation and hudget

in contrast, short-term interest

rates are widely expected to keep

its rates in response to a slowing of

"It's always a very good thing to

Bishop, an economist at Salomon

Brothers Inc. in London, said of the

commission's interest-rate scenario.

The commission's position still

take years to pay dividends.

German inflation.

gressively despite the collapse of ammunition to spend their way to vive their economies.

the European Monetary System's recovery. Moreover, the structural

ing. But more importantly, they on falling as the Bundeshank pares

The commission's position un-erscores the limited options Euro-ing to happen anyway." Graham

NAFTA's victory or defeat is not expected to have much impact on ment, as long as Mr. Salinas's poliseem to agree that a NAFTA defeat would bring a sharp decline in the Mexican stock market, perhaps as much as 300 points in the first lew

NAFTA would keep the Mexican gaged in the booming outsiness of markedly."

direct and indirect investment in Mexico.

"The market is hostage to the NAFTA rhetoric," said C. Thomas Tuil, a principal at Gulfstream Global investors Ltd., of Dallas, A vote against the agreement in Congress might send the Mexican index down 10 percent to 15 percent. that strong surge of direct invest- down 10 percent to 15 percent, he said, "but at that point we would be cies are maintained. But analysts net buyers. We would see an opportunity. The long-term fundamen-

tals are still extremely positive."

Stephen R. Waite, an international economist at Merrill Lynch & Co., said "the fact is that they've pushed inflation in Mexico down Easier than they be pushed inflation than they we pushed digital than they we pushed they have been seen as a single digital than they were seen as a single digital than the single digital than the single digital than they were seen as a single digital than the single digital What would happen at La Bolsa to single digits, they have privaafter that is less clear, and often tized many sectors, they've got a depends on the mood of the analyst government budget surplus and Few doubt that ratification of and how deeply that person is ea- their deht situation has improved

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# By Business Travel

LONDON — British Airways making a profit in face of fierce PLC reported Monday that profit in the second quarter shot up more than 30 percent as the number of business travelers picked up. But it warned that the winter would be difficult because of the airline industry's overcapacity.

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'- Harring

climbed to £146 million (\$216 million) from £112 million a year earlier. Revenue amounted to £1.8 billion, up from £1.5 billion.

The carrier's share price was little changed on the London Stock Exchange, finishing 3 pence lower at £3.96

The BA chairman, Sir Colin Marshall, said a 2 percent increase in the number of high-paying passengers, such as business travelers, helped the carrier produce strong results despite losses in two partly owned ventures on the Contient, TAT European Airlines in France and Deutsche BA in Germany.

He said he believed that the iment in the high-paying end of the business was a sure sign of economic recovery in Britain and the United States.

Sir Colin said BA was pleased with the number of passengers it was picking up from USAir. BA owns 24.6 percent of the American carrier and has begun a "code-sharing" arrangement that enables the two to list certain connecting services under one flight number. This has doubled the number of passengers BA gets from USAir.

The chairman called the airline's improved results "the first glimmers of light at the end of a long recessionary tunnel."

But he also warned that an excess of available airline seats would continue to plague the industry. BA

Staff From Dispatches is one of the few major carriers still price-cutting and overcapacity.
For the first six months, profit rose 9.9 percent, to £200 million, compared with £182 million last year. Revenue climbed to £3.3 bil-

lion from £2.9 billion dustry's overcapacity.

BA said net earnings for the three months that ended Sept. 30

Passenger yield, or the average fare per passenger for every kilometer traveled, rose 4.9 percent, to 6.8 pence, in the first half, but would have fallen without exchange rate benefits. A one-percentage point change in yield can be worth tens of millions of pounds in profit.

The airline carried 15.4 million ngers in the first half, up 12 percent from a year ago.
(AP, Reuters, AFP, Bloomberg)

### British Steel Back in Black

United Press International LONDON - British Steel PLC, boosted by higher prices and improved operating re-sults, swung into the black with a pretax profit of £27 million (\$39.9 million) for the first half of 1993. The company had lost £51 million in the like period a year ago.

The company announced an interim dividend of 0.5 pence per share. It skipped an interun payout last year.

Brian Moffat, the chairman said British demand for steel recovered markedly in the first half of 1993, but he cautioned the increase came only as a result of inventory build-up rather than sustained production and that "underlying im-provement" was "modest."

### Paris Gives Aid to Farmers

PARIS - Prime Minister Edouard Balladur granted French farmers 1.5 billion francs (\$255 million) in aid on Monday to help them adjust to European Community farm reform and ease the way for a GATT world trade agreement by the Dec. 15 deadline.

But farm leaders insisted the government had not satisfied them in their struggle to retain current subsidies. Mr. Balladny's program includes low-interest loans, debt restructuring and increased pensions.

The government is worried that if it signs a world trade agree some farmers, particularly heavily indebted grain growers, might be tempted to join a radical farm movement that has twice staged partial road blockades around Paris and won considerable public sympathy.

In Harrogate, England, Peter Sutherland, director-general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, said an accord was "within our but that Washington and Brossels must "stop playing chicken." He estimated that 90 percent of the issues for an accord were "in our back pocket, but the outstanding issues have the capacity of causing a failure." (Reuters, Bloomberg)

# BA Profit Boosted U.S. TV Networks Push Into Europe

By Richard W. Stevenson

LONDON - Before it was acquired by NBC in early October, Super Channel, a pan-European broadcaster, struck Patrick Cox as a mishmash of paid religious programming, rock videos, news and home shopping.

But Mr. Cox, managing director of NBC's operations in Europe, also saw a great opportunity. So, along with NBC programm executives from the United States, he tosse much of what he perceived as junk off the broadcaster's schedule and began improving the more promising of the remaining shows, especially those focusing on European cul-ture, business and news. He also stirred in liberal quantities of NBC programming from the United States, including "The Tonight Show with Jay Leno," "NBC Nightly News" and the "Today" show.

The result, NBC executives hope, is a broadcaster with a strong appeal to viewers across Western Europe, where Super Channel is seen in 30 million homes and most hotels.

With political changes, new technology and deregulation creating broadcasting opportuni-ties all over the world, international markets have long drawn the interest of program producers from the United States, as well as such cable channels as Cable News Network.

But now, as NBC's deal for Super Channel suggests, foreign markets also are drawing increasing attention from the three big American broadcast networks. CBS Inc. has largely limited its participation to stepping up sales of its news programming abroad. But NBC, a subsidiary of General Electric Co., has start-

ed a 24-hour news service for Latin America. is discussing a 24-bour business news service in Asia and looking for other deals in Europe and around the world.

Capital Cities/ABC Inc., parent of ABC, owns stakes in broadcasters and program producers in Europe and in sports networks in Europe and Asia. Last month, it created a

The media markets of Europe are at the same points of development as the U.S. a decade ago.' Thomas Rogers, NBC executive vice president.

new corporate division, ABC Cable & International Broadcast Group, in recognition of the prospects for expansion abroad.

Broadcasting executives said Asia was perhaps the most promising market in the long run, given its huge population and rapid economic development. But for now, most of their investments are in Europe, where the dismantling of the traditional state broadcasting monopolies and rapid growth of cable and satellite television have set off a chase among domestic and foreign broadcasters for financ-

ing programming, advertisers and viewers.

The media markets of Europe are at the same points of development as the U.S. a decade ago," said Thomas S. Rogers, executive vice president of new business develop-ment at NBC. "There's all kinds of growth potential going forward that we can be major participants in.

Profits are not likely to come easily, or quickly. Television viewers across Europe. most of whom were accustomed to watching only two or three channels, have over the last several years been offered many more choices. National broadcasters, both state-owned

and private, are beefing up program quality and becoming more responsive to popular tastes. Cable and satellite operators such as BSkyB, partly owned by Rupert Murdoch, have blanketed Europe with news, movies, sports and general entertainment channels.

To the extent they rely on their own news and entertainment programs for their operations in Europe, the networks also face a cultural and political backlash. Led by France, a number of countries are stepping

up complaints about "cultural imperialism ABC has sought to sidestep some of the political issues by taking stakes in European television companies. It has bought a third of Hamster, a French program maker; a 25percent stake in Tesauro, a Spanish producer; balf of Molinare, a group of production com-panies based in London, and half of Tele-

München, a producer based in Munich. Through Tele-München, ABC owns a stake in RTL-2, a German broadcaster. And through its ESPN subsidiary, it owns a third of

Eurosport, Europe's largest sports network.
With Super Channel, NBC has adopted a different strategy. By taking a majority stake in the broadcaster — the remainder is owned by Credit Lyonnais, the Freneb bank - and assuming full management control, the company is the first to attempt a full-scale European-American bybrid network.

### Investor's Europe **Paris** London DAX CAC 40 FTSE 100 Index 2105-2000 2200 1927) -2100-89)-2000-1700-1900 1993 NO 8 A S O N Exchange Index Monday Pray. Close ' Chänge 137.90 135.40 +1.85 Amsterdam CBS Trend 6,993.74 +0.21 Brussels Stock index 7,008.26 2,049.11 Frankfurt 2,015.01 +1.69 Frankfurt 777.90 N.A. Helsinki 1,531.04 1,516.10 London Financial Times 30 2,346.40 2,343.70 . +0.12 FTSE 100 3.093 30 -0.19 London 3.099.10: Madrid 300.04 General Index 300.69 +0.28 Milan 1,203.00 1,204.00 -0:08 Paris CAC 40 2,117.90 2.096.85 +1.00 Stockholm Affaersvaerlden 1,667.63 1,686.11 -1,10 Vienna Stock Index 454.82 452.00 +0.62 +6.17 Zurich 931.32 929.72 Sources: Reviers, AFF

### Very briefly:

 Usinor-Sacilor expects a loss of about 5 billion francs (\$846.3 million) this year, a smaller loss in 1994 and a nearly break-even performance in 1995, according to Francis Mer, president of the French steelmaker.

• Fiat SpA shareholders voted at a special general meeting to approve an 11-member board, changed from 15 members, and to eliminate age limits for the chairman and managing director; Fiat said Giovanni Agnelli remained chairman, and Cesare Romiti remained managing director,

• Denmark's central bank reduced its discount rate and folio rate by a quarter-point each, to 6.75 percent, the second such cut in two weeks.

 Poland's exports to European Free Trade Association countries — Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein - became tariff-free under an accord that went into effect Monday, the agreement covers most goods except steel and textiles.

 Italy's sales of small commercial vehicles — trucks and buses weighing 3.5 metric tons or less — iell 22 percent in October from a year earlier and 29 percent in the first 10 months of 1993; Italian industrial production fell 0.9 percent in September from a year earlier.

· Astra AB said it expected to have two new drugs to help in the treatment of asthma ready for registration within about a year. The Swedish drug company also said it was making preparations for a stock listing in New York and said further details could be expected during 1994. · Kazakhstan introduced its new currency, the tenge, but banknotes were

difficult to find on their first day of circulation, and many sbops were closed as consumers sought to dump rubles; small-denomination ruble notes will cease to be legal tender at the end of this week. · Ethiopia said its free-market changes had attracted almost \$1 billion in foreign investment. The general manager of the Investment Office of

Ethiopia said 714 investors with total capital of nearly \$1 billion had started operating in the formerly Marxist country in the last year. Thomassen International Holding BV said its gas turbines partnership with General Electric Co. of the United States would be extended and expanded to include the supply of Thomassen steam turbines as well as

converting, modifying and upgrading existing gas turbines. e Oman's biggest bank. National Bank of Oman, has returned to profit after the Bank of Credit & Commerce International scandal and is inviting investors to buy the government's 40 percent stake in the bank.

### INVEST: Investors in U.S., Wary of Market Outlook, Look for Havens

### Continued from Page 9

25 years, has also reversed, causing yields to rise. The yield on the benchmark government issue, the 30-year U.S. Treasury bond, closed at 6.16 percent Monday. A rise in yields means the price, or market value, of the bonds has fallen.

Although this year's stock rally has been interrupted before, investors seem to feel particularly vulnerable now, possibly because the rally has already been setting records for longevity and any number of events could shake its footing.

A rejection of the North American Free Trade Agreement in the House of Representatives this week could send a shudder through financial markets because of the possible inflationary consequences of rejecting

And if the stock market teeters, investors will not have the comfortable haven in fixed-income securities that they have had in the past. "Safe" investments such as money market funds and Treasury bills are producing so little income that they are unattractive.

Despite the uncertainty, many analysts and investors have remained calm. In fact, the flight of some assets to money market funds has not stopped the movement of money into stocks. Some investors still seem to think the market can move higher, and others apparently just don't want the low yields available from money market funds.

Strategists who claim to be optimistic say an anticipated jump in U.S. economic growth to an annual rate of 4 percent in the last quarter of this year - one of the factors causing uncertainty in the bond and stock markets - will not lead to an inflationary boom. They are betting that inflation will remain low as growth returns to a pace next year of 2.5 percent to 3 percent.

Long-term interest rates, therefore, could decline in 1994 or, at hover around 6 percent, in this view.

But David Roche, international strategist at Morgan Stanley & Co. in

London, says be is not comfortable betting on this outlook. He outlines

two possible scenarios that would not be good for stocks.

One is a spurt of economic growth above the 3 percent level that would push interest rates higher and divert a lot of the funds now propping up stock prices. The second is a flat global economy next year, in which case concern would shift from the risk of rising prices to the possibility of "This has made me believe I won't be 30 percent richer again," be said,

referring to the gain he made when he sold some of his stocks and raised his cash position to 6 percent. "In a six-month view, I can't see myself richer than I am today.

Signs of investor concern can be seen on several fronts. Mortgage lenders say people are rushing to lock in interest rates for fear the bottom

For instance, Marlene Brown, a food consultant, cookbook writer and recipe developer in Studio City. California, says she was considering a fixed-rate mortgage of 6.875 to 7 percent on Oct. 31, only to see the rate leap to 7.50 percent just two days later. Rick Crossano, an executive vice president at Countrywide Credit, a

mortgage lender based in Pasadena, California, said that in the first week of November, the average number of mortgage applications filed daily imped to almost 2,600, up about 400 a day from a month earlier. "There was a lot of panie submitting of applications," be said.

But even on mortgages, the signals are mixed. James Winnins, a vice resident in corporate communications at Merrill Lynch, is betting that if there is an increase in interest rates, it will be slight.

"My gut tells me that money in the pocket now is the way to go." said Mr. Wiggins, who is looking for a variable-rate mortgage for a new apartment in Manhattan. "Yoo are taking the risk that interest rates will move up, but if interest rates do move higher, they will only move about a

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# EC Backs Japan On Trade Stance

TOKYO — Seeking common ground with Japan as the deadline for global trade talks nears, the European Community's top trade negotiator said Monday that he "understood the sensitivities" of Tokyo officials being pressed to open their rice market and warned against U.S. attempts to impose trade targets with Japan.

But Sir Leon Brittan, whose meetings Monday with Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa and four other officials were the first be-tween Brussels and the new Japanese government, said Tokyo appeared to share a willingness to make tough concessions in order to wrap up the Uruguay Round of world trade talks by Dec. 15.

"I am satisfied that Japan does have a genuine sense of urgency in responding to the need to engage m end plays where mutual compromises are the only way to achieve results," Sir Leon said.

The talks came as the Community, Japan and the United States have ocen blaming each other for failing to make concessions that could help conclude the Uruguay Round of talks under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. An EC rapprochement with Tokyo could increase pressure on Washington, where Sir Leon is to meet next week with Mickey Kantor, the U.S. trade representative.

"The pace is accelerating," said Sir Leon, who arrived in Tokyo on Saturday after visiting South Korea, which also opposes to rice imports. Sir Leon would not comment on lapanese press reports that Washington and Tokyo had reached a basic agreement to allow Japan to convert its virtual ban on rice imports to tariffs after six years, while permitting minimum access during the interim equal to 4 percent to 8 percent of its consumption.

But he implied that such a deal, which would be a major step toward completion of the Uniquey Round, might be acceptable to Brussels: We think that tariffication is required for all products, but we do managical targets to ensure market understand the sensitivities of the Japanese. If a way can be found of combining these two elements, that would be an ideal solution."

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### Japan Firms Raided After Suspect Bids

TOKYO --- Several companies suspected of bid-rigging, including major electronic makers, have had their offices raided, the Fair Trade Com-mission said Monday.

The commission declined to name the companies, but NHK public television said they included Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., Mitsubishi Electric Corp., Sony Corp., Toshiba Corp. and Fujitsu Ltd.

A Matsushita executive confirmed that his company had been raided by the commission. A commission official said the companies were suspected of having held negotiations to select a winner for contracts for huge television screens to be

installed at such places as con-

cert halls and sports arenas.

On the surface, Brussels and Tokyo remained at odds over rice. Farm Minister Eniro Hata was quoted as telling Sir Leon that Tokyo would consider tariffication if the U.S.-EC accord to cut farm subsidies was renegotiated. But Sir Leon said the so-called Blair House accord was unrelated to the opening of Japan's rice market.

Sir Leon also called on Japan to narrow tax levels between whisky and liqueur and Japanese shochu, a cheap alcoholic drink. In addition, he pressed Japan to buy European-made jet engines and liberalize its pension and insurance markets.

. In another warning one that might help Japan deflect U.S. pressure, Sir Leon cautioned Trade Minister Hiroshi Kumagai against acceding to American demands for access. He said even accords setting targets for foreign, as opposed to U.S., products, would likely discriminate against European exports.

# Hyundai Aims for Top 10

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches SEOUL - Hyundai Motors Co. announced Monday it would invest \$4.1 billion between now and the year 2000 in an effort to

become one of the world's 10 largest carmakers.

South Koren's top automaker will build three factories and double its capacity, to 2 million units a year. Last week, Hyundai announced the output target and gave sparse details of two of the plants. The first of the three new sites, in the southwestern city of Wanju, North Cholla Province, is to be completed by 1995 and will produce

70,000 trucks and buses a year. A second plant will be set up in the central city of Asan, South Changebong Province, by 1996 and

The third of the new plants is to be built in the southwestern city of Yeochon, South Cholla Province.

(AFP, AFX)

# Bears Emerge in Tokyo

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatche TOKYO - Bears returned to the Tokyo stock

market Monday as the Nikkei 225-stock average lost 2.27 percent and went temporarily below 18,000 points, though it closed slightly above that level.

Masahiko Tsuyuzaki, chief trader at Tachibana Securities, said, "It looked as if the market was lifted

artificially on Friday," when prices rose, "and those unnatural gains simply wore of today." The Nikkei had jumped 1.85 percent, to 18,493.55 Friday, a move that brokers attributed Monday to institution-

al investors hunting for bargains.

On Monday, the Nikkei average closed at 18,074.61, down 418.94 points. It went as low as 17,952.20 in afternoon trading. The Nikkei has not closed below 18,000 since March 16.

The slide was attributed to weaker-than-expected corporate earnings, falling futures prices and a report by an analyst at Nomura Research Insti-tute's British arm saying that the Nikkei index could fall below 16,000.

Weak earnings reports issued Friday by several Japanese steel and automobile manufacturers were weighing the market down amid second thoughts about Friday's advance, Graham Biggart, a general manager of futures and options trading at Schroder Securities, said.

At Monday's close, the Nikkei average had plunged 11 percent since Oct. 25. It was above 20,000 for several months until Oct. 26, when shares of newly privatized East Japan Railway Co.

The failure of JR East's privatization to give the market a boost, combined with investor selling of shares that were not included in the recently

launched Nikkei 300 index, led to more seiling over the past few weeks.

Analysis say some investors are worned because Japanese stock prices are already high, compared with expected earnings. The market's price earnings ratio, or Japanese stock prices, compared with average projected company earnings per snare. stands at 91, the highest among major industrialized nations.

Such a level may have been tolerable several months ago, they say, when many investors expected the Japanese economy to rebound by the end of

But now, with year-end only a few weeks away. the economy showing few signs of recovery and companies reducing their earnings forecasts, the P/E ratio seems far too high in many cases.

Investors concerned about deteriorating earnings sold Nikkei 225 futures contracts to protect their holdings against further declines, traders said. Nikkei stock index futures for December delivery fell 490 points, to 18,080, in Osaka and slid 505 points, to 18,065 in Singapore.

Morihiko Ida. chief strategist at Prudential Securities Inc., said that anticipated income-tax cuts were now the "next major and only positive incenuve for the stock market.

A government panel is due to submit recommendations Friday on a package of tax changes including income-tax cuts and an increase in the connption tax.

In the meantime, brokers hope that buying by pension and insurance funds will protect the market, even though that activity seems to have dwindled in recent weeks. (Reuters, Bloomberg)

### H.K. Stocks Soar on China Reforms

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches HONG KONG — Soaring shares prices sent the Hang Seng Stock Index to its third straight record close Monday as foreign funds stepped up their buying on news of plans for wide economic reform in China.

The Hang Seng gained 32.09 points, firithing at 9,733.34. In morning trading, the index worked toward the 9,800 barrier, with a gain of over 111 points. but profit-taking eroded some of that advance.

Brokers said China-oriented stocks were the major

winners following a Communist Party Central Committee meeting in Beijing that called for faster development to set up a socialist market economy in China.

2.75 dollars (36 U.S. cents). Maanshan Iron & Steel up 12.5 cents, to 4.15 dollars, and China Overseas Land up 27.5 cents, to 2.45 dollars.

(AFX, Reuters)

Traders said the bullish sentiment also was driven by hopes that the upcoming meeting between the Chinese and U.S. presidents in Seattle would improve ties.

Antony Mak, assistant director of sales at Vickers Ballas, said that expectations about this week's meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum "If that goes well, people expect more U.S. funds

will come into Hong Kong," he said.

Among actively traded issues Monday were the China plays, with Shanghai Petrochemical up 7.5 cents, to 2.75 dollars (36 U.S. cents). Maanshan Iron & Steel up

# **Imports** Surging **Into China**

BEIJING - China's annual trade balance plunged to a \$7.1 billion deficit at the end of October and could fall to \$10 billion by the end of this year, the China Daily

reported on Monday. Exports increased 6.4 percent in the first 10 months, compared with a year ago, but imports surged 28.1 percent, the paper said. It said analysts predicted imports would ex-ceed \$100 billion for the whole year, while exports would reach rust 590.1 billion.

China registered a \$4.4 billion surplus in 1992, the newspaper

Exports of crude oil, coal, steel, nonferrous metals, cement and raw silk have all slumped, the paper

At the same time, imports of machinery and electronics increased 47.4 percent: oil, 50 percent; aircraft, 29.6 percent; and automobiles, 87.7 percent.

The International Monetary Fund reported in September that China's foreign-exchange reserves had fallen 14 percent during the first half of 1993, to \$38.4 billion. The statistics, unlike those issued by Beijing, include the state-owned Bank of China's foreign-currency

■ South Korean Investment South Korean investment in Chi-

na in the first six months of the year far exceeded the total for all of 1992, when diplomatic relations were established. Agence France-Presse quoted the Korea Foreign Trade Association as saying,

The association said that during the six months through June, South Korea's investment in China amounted to \$290 million in 259 projects, surpassing the \$213 million made in 269 projects during all gency in Thailand.

### Investor's Asia Tokyo Singapore Hong Kong Nikkei 225 Strails Times 20000: 1983 A S O N 17000 J J A S O N Exchange Prev. Index Monday Close Close Change 9,733.34 9,701.25 +0.33 Hong Kong Hang Şeng 2.095.55 2,112.00 0.78 Singapore Straits Times 2,074.00 +0.43 Sydney All Ordinanes 2.082.90 Tokyo Nikkei 225 18,074.61 18,493.55 -2.27 Kuala Lumpur Composite 961.37 972.47

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Very briefly:

Moody's Investors Service Inc. said it downgraded the senior debt rating of Japan Air Lines Co., which recently announced widening losses. to A-2 from A-1. The move affects \$2.2 billion worth of debt.

 Japan's overall wholesale price index fell on an annual basis by 3.2 percent in October after registering no change in September,

· Astra AB of Sweden said it reach a preliminary accord with Fujisawa Pharmaceutical Co. to increase ownership in their Osaka-based pharma-

ceuticals joint venture to 90 percent from 51 percent, • Allied Group, the Hong Kong investment concern that is the focus of a police probe, said it has been told it has no grounds for legal action

against third parties such as current or former directors. • The Small & Medium Enterprises Agency of Japan said it has formulated measures to limit fallout from the hankruptcy of Muramoto Construc-

tion Co., including credits to companies that lent to Muramoto, The company's bankruptev is the largest in Japan since World War II. . Thai Farmers Bank was the first Thai company to be given a triple-A

rating by Thai Rating & Information Services, the only credit-ratinga-

Reuters, AFP, Bloomberg

### APEC: Southeast Asians Seek High Profile in Seattle

Continued from Page 1 strengthen fears among some Asian

members that the forum would be dominated by non-Asian nations. At about the same time, Mr. Ala-tas told journalists that while Indonesia shared the view that econom-

ic "liberalization is the way forward," the ASEAN position was that such reform "should be at a pace that is comfortable, that is in accordance with the capacity and the interests of developing coun-

Of the cleven East Asian members of APEC, only Singapore and Hong Kong have abolished virtually all barriers to the free movement of merchandise trade.

Although coming down across the region, tariff and non-tariff

Japan and China, and smaller defi- the Malaysian prime minister, reafcits with most other nations in the firmed that he would not attend a

For much of this year, while the United States has acted as an activist chairman of the APEC forum,

Some ASEAN countries, led by Malaysia, warned that under Washington's leadership, APEC was becoming a regional organiza-tion that could overshadow and weaken smaller groups, such as ASEAN, even though they bad been established for a much longer period of time and were critically important to their members.

Opening a conference Monday barriers in other East Asian coun-tries remain a substantial source of irritation for the United States, vened by the International Herald which has large trade deficits with Tribune, Mahathir bin Mohamad,

summit conference in Seattle on Saturday of APEC leaders that was initiated by President Bill Clinton.

"I really do not think this is an ASEAN failed to put forward a conesive view because of internal divisions.

exercise in trying to resolve economic problems," Mr. Mahathir said, without elaborating.

Prime Minister Gob Chok Tong of Singapore indicated recently that even though Singapore fa-vored using APEC to maximize the liberalization of regional trade and investment, solidarity among ASEAN nations was a paramount concern.

ASEAN insisted when APEC was established in 1989 that all decisions by forum members be strong objections by any one country would be enough to act as a veto.

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WISE: German Council of Experts Sees Little Room for Recovery in 1994

Continued from Page 9

Criticism was directed at the federal government, which was accused of jeopardizing investors' must by appearing to believe that taximoreases are more important than spending cuts as a means of paying the crippling bill for reunification.

"The threatening growth in state debt is cause for general concern," they said in the report, which predicted the country's new debt accumulation would rise to 80 billion

Continued from Page 9

Deutsche marks (\$47 billion) next year. Last week, the government wind for cutting government spending ton for cutting government spending on for cutting government spending to make the reiss and undermine employment."

The economists endorsed a plan circulating through German industry to save jobs by asking employers to temporarily work less each week, mouth or year, and accept the report, which he received Friends the conomists' proposal to each of the government, which for the conomists in the report, which he received Friends the conomists' proposal to sacrifice wages for job security, while the DAG salaried employees

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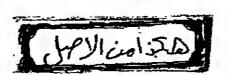
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# TRAVEL SPENDING STARTS TO GET OFF THE GROUND

buyer's market today, with companies demanding tailor-made packages at the best rates.

Major companies in the United States and Europe, the core of the \$200 billion a year business-travel industry, are turning increasingly to major travel agents in their quest for the best and cheapest travel packages. Hervé Gourio, president of Parisbased Wagonlit Travel, says the travel is the result of the consolidation of

is the result of the consolidation of travel budgets. "It started with big companies in the United States dealing with one agency, and has now spread to Europe," he says. "A third stage involves the consolidation of the travel budgets of companies present on both sides of the Atlantic. We are heading toward globalization of budgets, with the exception, for the moment, of travel out of Asia."

Like other major global agencies such as American Express and Carlson, Wagonlit Travel is putting into place an international airfares data base with input on special deals from 130 countries, which will be available to clients in several European countries by next year.

The state of the s

These data bases, or low-fare searchers, are already serving the U.S. domestic market. In the near future, they will scan airline reservations systems on a global basis, providing savings of between 15 percent and 40. percent on published fares.

Cheaper fares, say the agencies, will encourage a greater volume of business travel. It is boped that this will counteract the trend toward downgrading travel class, which became widespread in the past two years as the recession took hold and companies adopted formal travel policies.

Business travel is very much a . Travel, for example, handles broadly based travel programs for such multi-nationals as Alcatel, Fiat, Nestlé and NCR. The industry is now in an era in which, in the words of Bill Kirkwood, marketing director of Thomas Cook travel management operations in London: "Cost-conscious companies want to manage their travel better. Travel represents a big slice of variable costs, and the days when business travel was accepted as a perk are over. There's been a 7 percent downgrading factor." He sees an upturn in business travel occurring in 1994.

In some countries, notably Britain and the United States, the improvement has already started. Glen Dunster, of the London office of the American-owned Carlson Travel Network, one of the half-dozen megaagencies now increasing their market share through global packages and acquisitions, points to export-driven growth in business travel. Carlson's Accufare Plus system, with its daily scan for the lowest airfares, and a similar system for hotels called Accustay, are among the leaders in global scanning, or pre-trip auditing.

Some surveys point to a substantial uptum in business travel in 1994, following the travel and entertainment recession that hit Britain in 1990 and the rest of Europe in 1991-92. Others see more modest growth.

In 1993, according to American Express, Britain pointed the way, showing the best recovery in the sector, with expenditure on all travel and related expenses rising 9 percent to £19 billion (\$30 billion). This brought British expenditure almost back to the 1989 high of £20 billion. The figure for pure travel is estimated by Thomas Cook at £6 billion.



nomic zones for overall business-travel spending, with a total of \$141 billion, or 2.5 percent of the GDP of the 10 countries included in the survey.

Companies spent 4.8 percent of their total business costs, or more than \$1,500 per employee, on business travel and related expenses. Europe now accounts for \$11 billion a year more than the United States and \$3 billion more than Japan.

Most companies expect their expenditure in this field to increase at the same rate, or even faster than, company revenues. American Express says air travel was the largest item, at 26 percent, followed by hotel bills at 20 percent and automobile fuel or "kilometrage" at 19 percent. Entertaining represented another 11 percent.

German business-travel expenditure is down 6 percent this year, but is Monte Carlo Beach. High-tech equipexpected to recover, while another "weak" country is Sweden, where expenditure is down 10 percent role in the negotiations between companies and travel agents. Wagonlit

Related Services survey shows panies and travel agents. Wagonlit

Related Services survey shows tion as business travelers. Wagonlit

Travel reported Spanish business

Alan Tillian

travel spending down 10 percent, with France and Italy showing smaller declines. The cost-conscious Dutch maintained their rate of spending. with the Swiss already spending more. The U.S. trend is generally classified as "quite good," partly because of the increasing number of women business travelers. Female travelers now account for nearly 40 percent of the total U.S. travel market, according to the Travel Industry Association of America, Worldwide, they represent a quarter of the total.

Enrope's luxury hotels are now wooing the business traveler. The Société des Bains de Mer, which has four top hotels in Monaco, offers free flights to conventioneers plus highly advantageous rates at its hotels, the Paris, Hermitage, Mirabeau and ment in the rooms is accompanied by champagne and caviar. Deauville has built a state-of-the-art convention cen-

### THE STAKES - AND PERKS -RISE IN AIR-FARE WARS

Business-class fares are beginning to drop in Europe because of open-skies deregulations. Promotional lined every division to reduce losses, which ran to \$540 million in 1992. Robert W. Allen, Delta's chairman fares are on offer for the husiness traveler willing to fly in and out of his destination on the same day, while those staying on can obtain free hotel rooms in a range of cities around the world. Mileage bonuses are being raised. In addition, airlines have introduced flexible economy-class tickets to tempt the business traveler.

The world's airlines as a whole are still losing very large sums of money. Pierre Jeanniott, head of the Genevabased International Air Travel Association, puts his member airline losses at \$11.5 billion in the three years up to the end of 1992, adding that it will be surprising if losses in 1993 are less than half the \$4.8 billion of 1992. Nonetheless, European air traffic had risen 8 percent in the year through September, with 8 percent growth forecast for 1993.

British Airways has tightened its belt and introduced new promotions to become the world's most profitable airline, It has added comforts on the ground in the form of a plethora of lounges and business centers. Virgin Atlantic has a young masseuse for travelers' scalps, in-flight casinos and exotic mileage prizes, plus a new midclass between economy and business.

Delta, the biggest airline on the North Atlantic, with 290 weekly flights, including 115 nonstop departures from Kennedy International Airport, has lowered its costs. increased productivity and stream-

and president, was able to announce recently that Delta's European operations would show a profit in the latter part of this year. One typical Delta promotion for frequent fliers traveling on full-fare business or economy nekets between Detroit and London or Frankfurt will involve numerous upgrade possibilities on other flights. Delta shuttle passengers between Washington. New York and Boston have been offered the chance of prizes, including trips to Europe, hotel packages in Paris or Geneva, laptops and expensive sports tickets.

British Midland, Britain's numbertwo airline, started a fare war in Europe in the spring by cutting its oneclass, business-style fares by 30 percent. Other airlines, notably British Airways and Air France, followed by cutting business-class fares between London and Paris, Europe's most widely traveled route. British Mid-land then Isunched Diamond EuroPass, a season-ticket fare providing savings of between 37 percent and 65 percent on international routes. It was the first air-travel pass for business

A business traveler making five return trips in a three-month period between Heathrow and Paris saves \$1,200 over rival business-class fares. The pace-setting, 10-flight season ticket costs \$1,200 and also covers flights to Amsterdam, Brussels and

Continued on page 17

This advertising section was produced in its entirety by the supplements division of the International Herald Tribune's advertising department. Derek Maitland is a writer based in Hong Kong. Alan Tillier is the author of "Guide to Business Travel Europe" and "The Eyewitness Guide to Paris." • Steven Weinstein is a free-lance writer based in New York.

### ASIAN AIRLINES BATTLING FOR TURF AND TECHNOLOGY

and a revolution in in-carriers flight technology are Airlines, JAL, Korean among the major weapons in a battle for business-class travelers being being driven by economic waged by airlines in the Asia-Pacific region.

Hong Kong-based Ca-thay Pacific Airways, smarting from a 41 percent drop in profits for the first half of 1993, has nonetheless spearheaded the drive to open up new regional destinations. Among four new services

it has introduced over the past year, two of them - Vietnam and Sri Lanka have reflected a new focus by regional carriers on emerging, potentially lucrative business and investment centers.

New Delhi and Karachi top the list of new direct services expected to be introduced by Cathay next year, both capitals are con-sidered key gateways to a Subcontinental economic boom that, observers predict, could make the region a "new China."

While regional route expansion by Cathay and

Airlines, Thai International and Malaysia Airlines - is growth, competition is high when it comes to winning the loyalty of the frequent business traveler. More than 50 new airlines have taken to the air in the Asia-Pacific area over the past five years, some of them -South Korea's Asiana and and Taiwan's Eva Air holdly challenging the

short-haul secondary destinations serving new growth Cathay Pacific's regional subsidiary, Dragonair, is a thriving example of these new business-oriented feeder carriers. Flying from Hong Kong to 14 growth centers in China, it has built a dedicated frequent-business-travel clientele simply

Silkair, a subsidiary of Singapore Airlines, has also developed a 14-point re-

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New routes, new planes the other big international gional route network that passenger product manager, seat, connected to a master to receive the latest news. Singapore includes centers like Rangoon in Burma, Phnom Penh in Cambodia, Kaohsiung in Taiwan and Medan in Indonesia, and it is looking at Macao and Vientiane, Laos for the

> It is significant that both these airlines have also taken a good hard look at in-flight comfort and service. Silkair introduced a business-class section in June 1992, and Dragonair plans to introduce the same service on its Airbus A320 major carriers on international or "global" routes, flights to China. These moves bring both and others concentrating on

> lines into a costly, fastdeveloping regional and international rivalry for business-class loyalty that is crucial to all airlines, big or small. Cathay Pacific, one of a handful of international airlines enjoying profitability these days, despite its 1993 slump, is planning nothing short of a hy offering more reliable. business-class "revolution" in a bid to stay ahead of the sophisticated services. pack in the second half of

this decade.

William Hemmings, new service will be launched when its current TriStar fleet is replaced by Airbuses and Boeing 777s on the regional network in 1995-96. Flights will be reduced to two classes, with the enhanced business class

replacing first class on short-haul routes. "A new-generation business-class seat will be introduced, featuring new leg rests, footrests, beadrests and lumbar support," Mr. Hemmings says. "With a new lightweight design, it won't be so bulky, so there'll be more width,

games and other media.

These will be fed by a com-

these relatively small airmore personal space." But it is the in-flight technology introduced with it that Cathay Pacific is counting on to keep it ahead of the Personal multicbannel interactive TV monitors will be available throughout business class, providing movies and a full program of in-flight entertainment, destination information,

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computer that will control cabin lighting, air-conditioning and random-access information as well as entertzinment.

From there, business class will become virtually an office in the sky. "The technology for air-toground communication will e ready next year," says Mr. Hemmings, "enabling business-class passengers

stock-exchange prices. hotel information - even rates - on their screens. They'll be able to use the monitors to make hotel reservations and rent cars."

In years to come, it will probably be possible to not only monitor the stock exchanges but also to make transactions - to buy and sell - from the air.

Derek Maitland

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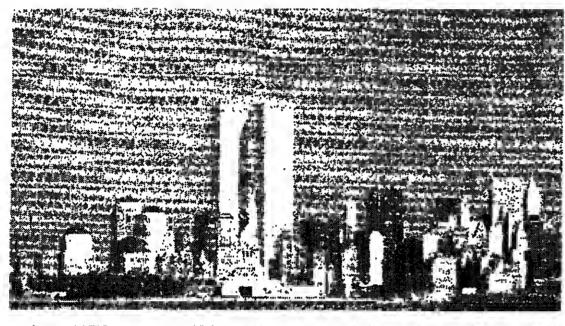
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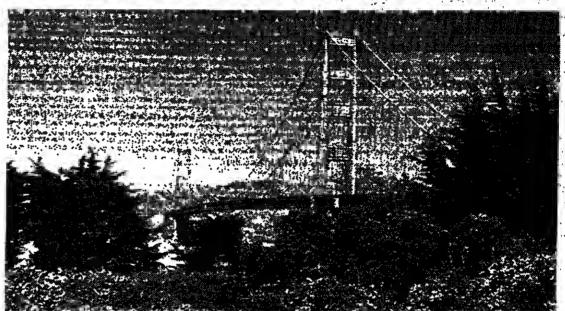
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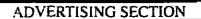
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Some business trips are conceived to inspire, rather than reward.

### REVOLUTION IN MOTIVATIONAL TRAVEL

Incentive travel has become a mainstay of the business-travel industry. But how many people are as familiar with motivational travel?

Incentive travel is a reward for achieving a goal, such as sales figures, employee retention, safety performance or even good attendance. Depending on the level involved, incentive travel often means travel to exotic or glamorous destinations.

Motivational travel, on the other hand, is a pre-incentive to good performance. In a motivational meeting, no one specifically has to qualify. Personnel travel to a destination for encouragement to work harder, not as a reward.

This is partly old wine in a new glass: Auto manufacturers, for example, have long entertained their dealerships when introducing new model lines. Corporations often spirit their sales forces away to conference centers or airport hotels prior to a major campaign.

Gaby Lazar, who heads Excellence, a British destination management consultancy, readily admits that the concept has been around for some time. "What is new is measurement," he says. This is the most important revolution in the non-sales area." In Britain, for example, 18 percent of the work force is involved in either sales or management, which leaves 82 percent in other areas.

What has developed over the last few years is the ability to measure non-sales," says Mr. Lazar. "Also, there's a clear distinction between motivational travel and incentive travel. Normally, with motivational travel, meetings do take place - there is a business element involved. It's the old story: people really want a bang for their bucks. If one expenditure can achieve two goals - training (sometimes

### HIGH STAKES IN Air-Fare Wars

Continued from page 16

Dublin. For \$1,500, the pass covers any interna-

10 percent reduction with big agencies such as Wagonlit Travel. Elsewhere, business travelers to and from Spain, Switzerland and Scandinavia are paying 10 percent to 30 percent less than a year ago.

Iberia, with its new, highstandard business class in the air and lounges on the ground, also has flexible economy-class rates that are of interest to business travelers. Swissair has done likewise, while SAS offers reductions of up to 20 percent to business travelers booking four days in advance. For the moment, the best reductions are for trav-

elers out of Britain. The third European Community liberalization package opened European skies at the beginning of the year. There's been partial deregulation in Europe, and a healthy level of competition has been introduced," says a London travel agent. Fare increases should be limited to around 2 percent next year, he adds.

The gap has narrowed between coach and business class in the United States, despite a general 10 percent increase in fares this year. "Companies with a volume of international traffic have leverage to obtain a second discount on domestic routes," says Peter Moen, vice president of global account management at Minneapolis-based

Carlson Travel Network. The arrival of third carriers on European routes has exerted downward pressure on fares. On routes where there has been less compe-

tition, such as-Dublin-London in the past, fares rose 20 percent,

American tional destination on BM's which has new code-shar-Air France, before its re-cent troubles, negotiated a British Midland, will shortly be offering businessclass travelers both air-toground and ground-to-air phone, fax and data transmission. American Airlines also has a new link with U.S. Hiltons and international Conrads on mileage, and Malaysia Airlines a deal with the Sbangri-La, Pan Pacific, Inter-Continental, Hilton and Hyatt hotels.

Airline travel expansion. however, remains bedeviled by disagreements between U.S. and European carriers over subsidies for the latter, and severe restrictions on airport slots and limits on foreign investment in airlines on both sides of the Atlantic.

Hans Mirka, senior vice president international for American Airlines, told the Thomas Cook travel conference in London that EC states had responded to new competitive situations by renouncing, or threatening to renounce, bilateral agreements with the United States. Europe, he said, should negotiate on a unified basis, adding, "The U.S. market has grown so enormously that the basic objective of providing fair and equal competitive opportunity can no longer be achieved in a bilateral context."

In other words, the equalaccess philosophy should give way to one of equiva-lent economic opportunity, or the right to compete effectively for all traffic. This, says Mr. Mirka, would belp coach and business-class passengers.

the better. "In the U.K., it's aimed at sales," adds Brian Revel of Thomas Cook Performance Management, also located in Britain. "In the U.S., a lot of non-sales divisions are beginning to use it - areas like employee loyalty programs and safety campaigns, where clearly no sales measurement is involved."

formal, sometimes informal) and motivation - that's all to

The term is now being used as a marketing tool by incentive travel consultants and marketers, who, like other segments of the travel industry, have seen their profits battered by the lingering recession. Bruce Bolgen, head of the Society of Incentive Travel Executives Foundation and an executive at Miller Freeman in New York, explains that buyers make the distinction between pure incentive and motivational travel.

The trend has been particularly pronounced in Britain and Europe in general. The Site Foundation commissioned a study on the British motivational travel market. British companies spend between £216 million (\$320 million) and £435 million on travel annually, of which a third is motiva-

"The distinction is valid in the United States as well," Mr. Bolgen adds. Although pure incentive travel in the United States is a relatively small \$3 billion to \$5 billion market, the meetings business generates nearly \$30 billion, of which Mr. Bolgen estimates 30 percent involves motivational travel: sales meetings, new product introductions.

dealer councils and event marketing.
"But companies need to think of it in a new way," Mr. Bolgen says. "Companies spend billions of dollars on motivational meetings without a firm and solid understanding of the scientific strategies behind the meeting event. Many companies delegate important planning to an administrative or marketing assistant with no formal training of how to motivate through a meeting. Understand, when a meeting is motivational, we're not just mincing words, but determining how a meeting is planned. You have to look at what the strategic marketing objective is and plan as scientifically as a marketing plan.

Mr. Bolgen suggests taking the following steps before planning a meeting: study the demographics of the participants, involve key participants in meeting needs and plans, study how training can enrich the participants and look at bow to market the message without "manipulation or brainwashing."

Although they may not be in the same locales as incentive travel destinations, motivational meetings are held in desirable locations. In Europe, Mr. Bolgen says, country hotels near urban areas are popular, as are inns, resorts or downtown hotels in exciting cities. "Destinations are based on the target audience," Mr. Revel says. "You've got to match the aspirations of the people involved. We believe that a travel award or reward works in a whole range of different scenarios - quality of service, cost-savings, human resources - encouraging toward goals as well as Steve Weinstein

# HOTELS LAY ON IN-ROOM AMENITIES

"Who'd have thought no extra cost. Hyatt is also with no pants on?" reads new in-room business serhotels now offer an increasingly sophisticated array of office equipment, phone-messaging devices and support services.

travelers. Sophisticated conferencing are making face-10-face meetings less necessary at the same time as companies downsize and cut back corporate travel in face of a lingering reces-

"Obviously, there has been an increase in chains er hookup, no telephone that are targeting 10 business travelers." says amenities. Katherine Cochrane. a pokeswoman for Radisson Hotels, "There are fewer business travelers out there, between the Gulf War and the recession. Travel and entertainment is the first item to get cut. So hotels want you to take advantage of all of your time in your botel room."

Can the botels' transformation into temporary offices be enough to woo back the corporate market? Can they ever do enough to satisfy today's demanding executive?

Hyatt has added in-room fax machines, available at

you'd have to send a fax adding voice mail, which allows checking messages an ad promoting Hyatt's from an outside location. and several specialized feavices. More and more tures for international travelers, including 24-hour currency exchange, 24-hour telex facilities and service directories in six languages. Hyatt hotels in 31 countries Facing stagnant growth, outside the United States the hospitality industry has offer business centers with stepped up such services in conference/boardroom order to attract business rentals, secretarial and translation services, refercommunications like video- ence libraries, equipment rental. faxing and business

printing. Radisson Hotels International recently took its cue from the airlines and introduced its own "business-class" guest rooms. Features include a computaccess charges and personal

The Hotel Okura chain, which has hotels throughout Japan and elsewhere, is also offering business executives typing, copying, translating, interpreting and other services at Executive Service Salons. Most recently. Hotel Okura installed fax machines with individual guest numbers in cach room. Guests can also use the line for modem transmissions without disrupting their voice phone.

Perhaps the next step is to circumvent the hotel altogether and simply rent temporary office space. After all the conveniences and hotel room, it is still ultimately a living, not working, area. Several companies are thriving by offering complete offices for the visiting executive.
"We were doing it long

before the hotel industry. says New York-based World-Wide Business Centres President Alain Bain, referring to computer hookups, dedicated fax lines and secretarial services. Mr. Bain established World-Wide in 1970, when, as a traveling businessman himself, he became frustrated by not being able to work in

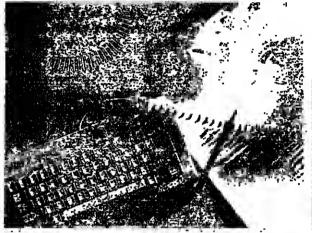
strange cities. Aside from being totally separate from a sleeping and eating area. the centers also have an advantage because they are open before and after the

gadgetry packed into a traveler checks out of his or her hotel. Since most business trips are of such short duration - many are overnight - check-in and check-out times arbitrarily limit the traveler's accessibility to clients and the home office. World-Wide even offers a concierge ser-

> HQ Business Centres complement hotels because they can offer an executive a more professional setting in which to conduct interviews or hold meetings.

> The hotels counter that executives appreciate the ease and convenience of inroom services. Virtually all business hotels today also have small meeting rooms that guests can rent for board meetings, sales meetings or other needs

S.W.



Hotel chains are increasingly targeting the executive.

### EC REGULATION INCITES INCENTIVE FIRMS

European Community incen- where the government is the quick- although the British pharmaceutical that Brussels bureaucrats have Germans and French bave been wrongly placed them in the same slower. **category as leisure travel agents.** 

Incentive companies, who organize group travel for businesses in and out of Europe as well as product launches, are now required to arrange bonds, or guarantees, amounting to half a million dollars in the case of medium-sized companies, as protection against bankrupt-

Worst hit by the EC directive on package travel are agents in Britain,

tive travel agents are complaining est to implement EC directives. The company, Glaxo, one of the most

Brian Cassidy, a member of the European Parliament, bas taken up the case. "Brussels seems unaware of the difference between travel agents and incentive firms," he says. "It's a consumer, not a company, protection package. Where will it all end if Brussels wants to protect companies against rash decisions?

The incentive business has been less marred by bankruptcies,

profitable companies in Europe. lost a million dollars when its proram for incenti ings fell apart.

Incentive travel associations admit their industry needs tighten-ing to prevent Glaxo-style accidents, but are asking Michael Heselune, president of the British Board of Trade, to exclude their sector from legislation since the industry is just beginning to recover from the effects of the Gulf War.



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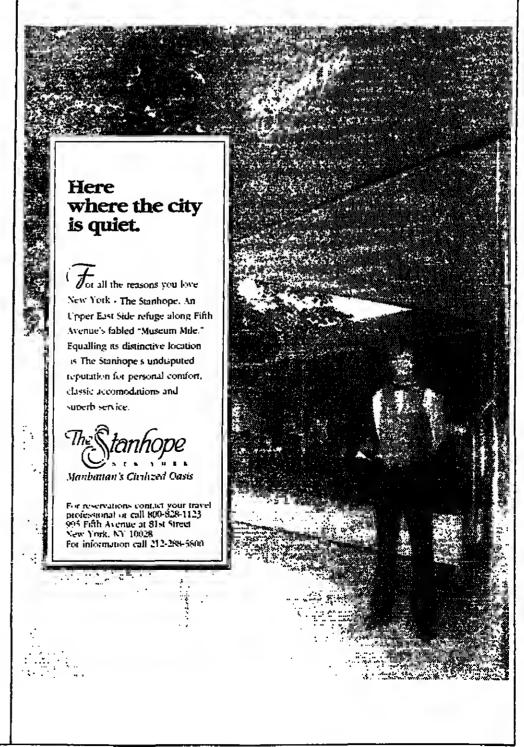
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# **SPORTS**

# Kosar Leads Cowboys, **Browns' Philcox Flops**

seventh straight after two opening losses, and the quarterback for most of the 20-15 victory over the Phoenix Cardinals was Bernie Kosar.

Cleveland, Kosar hit 13 of 21 passes for 199 yards and a 1-yard touchdown to Jay Novacek on Sunday in Irving, Texas. That score was set up when Emmitt Smith broke three tackles and turned a 5-yard pass into an 86-yard completion.

"What a difference a week makes in a man's life," Kosar said. "I really didn't want to come in here and let my coaches and teammates and the front office down."

Jason Garrett started at quarterback for the injured Troy Aikman, but Kosar came in with 4:49 left in the first period. Kosar led Dallas on three scoring drives, and his only mishap was being sacked for a safety hy Chris Oldham.

"For Bernie to pull this off with limited practice time was commendable," said the Dallas coach, Jimmy Johnson. "He was hitting Michael Irvin on cross-over routes and executing the offense. He had everything spinning in his head but did a tremendous joh."

Phoenix (3-7) railied from a 17-0 hole at one point. Seahawks 22, Browns 5: Kosar's replacement, Todd Philox, suffered in the Kingdome, where the

Browns (5-4) lell to Scartle. Philox threw two interceptions and lost two fumbles in the first half. He was sacked late in the

game for a safety. While Philcox was flopping, Eric Metcalf lost two fumbles, both recovered by Patrick Hunter. Engene Robinson had both interceptions

Chiefs 31, Raiders 20: Without f the 20-15 victory over the Phoe-ix Cardinals was Bernie Kosar.
Six days after he was cut by

leveland Kosar his 12-26/21. touchdowns and became the 17th quarterback in NFL history to pass for 30,000 yards.

Marcus Allen, who spent 11 seasons with the Raiders, made his re-

### NFL ROUNDUP

turn to the Coliseum a success. Allen, the leading rusher and touchdown scorer in Raiders history, signed with the Chiefs as a free agent on June 9. He had 85 yards on 17 carries. The Raiders fell to 5-4.

Vikings 16, Broncos 23: In Denver, where the Broncos (5-4) have won 20 of the last 24, they lost for the second time this season as Sean Salishury passed for 366 yards and two louchdowns. Fuad Reveiz had four field goals for Minnesota 15-4), while a Viking lineman, Tim Irwin, blocked an extra point and a short field goal, the seventh and eighth blocks of his career.

Falcons 13, Rams 0: The worst defense in the league this year had six sacks in handing the Rams (2-7) their first shutout since 1987. Deion Sanders had two interceptions for the Falcons (3-6).

Bears 16, Chargers 13: In San Diego, the Bears (4-5) snapped a three-game slide when Jim Harbaugh found Curtis Conway for a 38-vard touchdown, Kevin Butler

The Dallas Cowboys won their eventh straight after two opening coveries and the two interceptions.

The Dallas Cowboys won their straight after two opening as the Seahawks (5-5) had five recoveries and the two interceptions. under Coach Bruce Coslet. Leading the attack were Boomer Esiason and Johnnie Johnson, the Jets' two key trade acquisitions this year.

Esiason threw for 256 yards and two touchdowns; Johnson capped a 98-yard march to a clinching touchdown with a 57-yard run and had 141 yards on the ground as the Jets outrushed the Colts (3-6) by 202-92.

In early games, reported in some International Herald Tribune edi-

Packers 19, Saints 17: In New Orleans, Chris Jacke's 36-yarder with 3 seconds left, his fourth field goal of the day, was decisive. It was set up when Brett Favre, who was sacked six times, found Sterling Sharpe on a 54-yard pass. The visiting Packers (5-4) converted three turnovers into scores. New Orleans (6-3) went ahead 17-16 on Morten Andersen's 27-yard field goal with

Oilers 38, Bengals 3: In Cincinnati, the Oilers (5-4) won their fourth straight, making Cincinnati (0-9 for the first time ever) the only vinless team in the league. Warren Moon threw for four touchdowns in 21/2 quarters, three to Haywood

49ers 45, Buccaneers 21: The visstring 49ers (6-3) continued their domination of Tampa Bay (2-7), winning their eighth straight matchup. Jerry Rice caught four scoradded three field goals, while the ing passes from Steve Young, who usually reliable John Carney was 23-for-29 for 311 yards. Rice missed a 40-yard field goal with had eight catches for 172 yards and 1;11 to play that could have forced scored on plays of 12, 51, 9 and 26



Cardinal linebacker Eric Hill tackled Emmitt Smith of Dallas, but the Cowboys triumphed, 20-15.

# Irish and Seminoles May Play It Again

By Ken Denlinger ungion Post Service

WASHINGTON - Notice Dame reached the place everyone knew it would after its thrilling 31-24 victory over Florida State: No. 1 n all the college football poils. And if both teams win their remaining regular season games, they will play each other again, in the Fiesta Bowl, for the national champion-

There was a split decision for second place between The Associated Press (writers) and the USA Today-CNN (coaches) polls. The AP poll (See Scoreboard) had Florida State immediately behind the Fighting Irish following its loss in Notre Dame Stadium, which went down to the final play. The coaches elevated unbeaten Nebraska over the 9-1 Seminoles.

The total points in both polls determine coalition-bowl position - and under that criterion the order is: Notre Dame (3,098), Florida State (2,900) and Nebraska (2,833). Should that continue, Notre Dame would play the Seminoles Jan. 1 in Tempe, Arizona.

For that to happen, the 10-0 Fighting Irish must beat Boston College at home Saturday, Florida State must beat North Carolina State at home Saturday and No. 8 Florida on the road Nov. 27.

Nebraska jumped over Miami (8-1) in the coalition poll after it routed Iowa State to clinch the Big Fight championship and the Hurricanes struggled during a 31-17 victory over visiting Rutgers. But the Cornhuskers could get shut out of the national title even if they beat Oklahoma Nov. 26 and win the Orange Bowl for a perfect season.

"People get all worked np about the poils, and maybe I should get more worked up than f do," said Nebraska's coach, Tom Osborne. "But it doesn't do yourself any good to get upset about them," he said. "You just have to understand how it works, roll with the punches and do your best to prepare. The polls, to me, have almost become a humorous thing."

Miami (a loser only to Florida State) was fourth and Ohio State (tied by Wisconsin) was fifth in both polls. The only major difference in the rest of the Top 10 was the coaches elevating West Virginia to sixth. The Mountaineers were ninth in the AP poll.

They play Miami in a Big East showdown Saturday in Morgantown, West Virginia.

Because it is on probation by the National Collegiate Athletic Association, Auburn was not ranked in the coaches poll, but the 10-0 Tigers were rated sixth in the AP poll.

They play No. 11 Alabama on Saturday and could claim the AP ritle if a set of circumstances not entirely out of the question occurs. The most passionate case for a Florida State rematch with Notre Dame was made by a Florida State receiver, Matt Frier, after the

"You just saw the best college game of all time. Everyone who watched it never sat down. We also played in the hardest place ever, and we were one play away from winning it. If people want to see the best, give us a chance."

The right combination of votes did just that. As usual, Frier and everyone else on both teams must back up talk like that on the field.

### In the Long Run, These 2 Tied Knot for the Long Run

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches NEW YORK - As if planning for a wedding is not enough:

These two trained for it. Crowds of people gathered around Lafavette Avenue and Ashland Place in Brooklyn to cheer the runners in the New York Marathon on Sunday. When they saw the woman run by with the white lace veil, the whoops and hollers got even louder. Pamela Kezios, 31, and her fiance, Thomas Young, 32, met at the Brooklyn Academy of Music at the eight-mile mark of their first New York City Marathon, the same point in the marathon where the male and female runners converge onto the same path heading north.

With family and press crews waiting, Kezios, in a white leotard and small white skirt, and Young, who donned a top hat and coattails, met at the stairs under the canopy of the academy. The Reverend George A. Rohinson married the couple as they read their vows, which included "to give her your loving attention, to grow together as friends and tolerate his/her love of running forever." The ceremony took only 12 minutes. The newlyweds exchanged

rings, hugged family members, who dressed in jogging suits for the occasion and danced briefly to the wedding band's swooning music. "We've watched the New York marathon for many years, and we've been marathoners for a while," Young said. "We figured that two of the greatest experiences of our lives, both at the same time,

would be very special." He then picked up his bride as hirdseed was thrown in the air and carried her across the curh to join the pack of runners on the street. Though he runs a 2-hour-46-minute marathon and she runs a 3:05. the two elected to finish the race together. At the 23-mile (37kilometer) mark, she threw a mini-bouquet in the air and he pitched the pink garter he was wearing on his sleeve. On her backside, a sign read "Just," on his "Married."

They finished in 3 hours, 41 minutes and 58 seconds. (NYT, AP)

### **SCOREBOARD**

HOCKEY NHL Standings EASTERN CONFERENCE Toronto SI, Louis Chicago Dallas Winnipe

ing I (Lomakin, Fitz Section Parise: F-Shirth and Indicate Principle Parises (Flustman, Sokic) (pp): F-Shirth Period: Q-Ricci & (Flustman, Q-Rucinsky & (Lindberg) (en): Q-Sokic) у-голомиру в ILindberg) jenj; Q-Sokie 0 (pp). Shots en genj; Q 6-8-9-21, F 12-15-7-34. Geniles—Q, Cloutier, F, Vanblesbrouck

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San Francisco 45, Yampa Bay 21
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Atlanta 13, Los Angeles Roms 0
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Minnesotic 26, Deriver 23
New York Jets 31, Indianapolis 17
Chicago 14, San Diego 12
Open Dale: Defroit, New England

The AP Top 25 The Top Twenty Five teams in the college footbatt poll, with first-place votes in power theses, records through Nev. 11, total point based ou 25 points for a first-place vote.

1, Notre Dame (42) 2. Florida 51.

Konsos St. SOUTH AMERICAN OPEN Fittel
Corlos Costa (2), Spain, del, Alberia Bermategui 16), Spain, 34, 4-1, 4-4.
VIRGINIA SLIMS TOURNAMENT
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9. West Virgini

10. Texas A&A

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12. Wisconsin

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ATP TOP 18 RANKINGS

1. Pete Someron, U.S., 1917 points: 2. Jim
Courier, U.S., 190; 1. Michael Stich, Germany, 1803; 4. Seral Bruouera, Sooin, 1909; 5.
Sieton Edberg, Sweden, 2,571; 6. Andrel Modvedev, Ukrolice, 2,999; 7. Michael Chons, U.S.
151; 8. Goren Ivenisevic, Crootic, 2,085; 9.
Thomas Muster, Austria, 2,033; 16. Cedric Piolike, Expense 2019.

**NBA Standings** 

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WESTERN CONFERENCE

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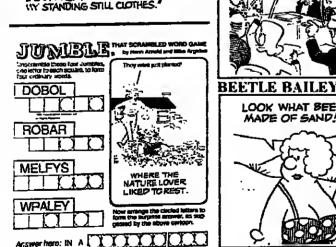
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### DENNIS THE MENACE



I CAN'T RUN, JOEY. THESE ARE



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### **PEANUTS**

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### DOONESBURY

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AND MARK MY WORDS.I'LL GET 100% APPROVAL EVEN IF WE HAVE TO MISS GOING TO LUNCH!

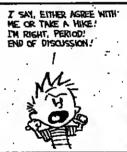


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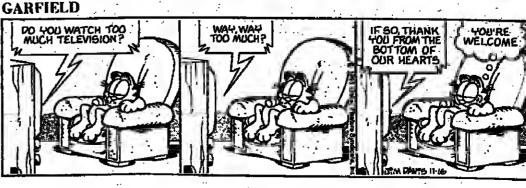
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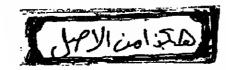
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# SPORTS

# Jack Charlton: The Englishman Who Holds Ireland's Soccer Dream

DUBLIN - The band seemed to hush as the crowd grew louder. Then Jack Charlton waved and grinned as if grew louder. Then Jack Charlton waved and grunned as if they were applauding nothing more important than his birthday, and that coaxed them louder still. His tuxedo might have hlended among those of his players parading down from the stage and those noisy hundreds in the andience on their feet. But Charlton does not camouflage well. He has never found a uniform to fit him properly. Up through the neck, he looked like a long, blunt arrow sheathed in black.

sheathed in black.

Every day the face is a lopsided, comforting face, with a charisma handsome in the least photogenic way. They love Jack Charlton here for making possible their every hope. The grave responsibility of Wednesday they would entrust to no other man. When you are hugged as he has been, what else can you do? He has to hing them back.

"We knew this was possible from Day One," Charlton said after practice Monday. "In fact, we virtually expected

"Here" is a short flight north from Dublin to Belfast. Perhaps the most important soccer game in the history of this island will be played there on Wednesday. By winning, the Republic of Ireland would guarantee its place in the 24-nation World Cup finals next year. It would be only its second Cup appearance. A loss would eliminate the Irish, while a draw would leave them hoping that group three leaders Denmark and Spain do not play to a draw on Wednesday in Seville,

Ireland's opponent and host is Northern Ireland, where in the last month more than 20 people have died in fighting between Unionists and Loyalists, between Catho-lics and Protestants. While the possible rewards from a soccer match have rarely been greater for the Republic of Ireland, the risks are greater still. Anywhere else, the Irish would be followed by thousands of their fans, fighting, in effect, alongside of them. This time, at 10,000-seat Wind-

Their fans have been warned against making this trip. So they will cheer from every puh south of the border. It will be a lonely place for a coach on Wednesday, to sit

on a bench at an enemy ground, worrying about the safety of his players while demanding of them single-mindedness. To win would be to finish the joh he began, to continue as expected. To lose would be to succumb to the pressures of the North. This would be the ultimate failure. Charlton, an Englishman, must now lead Ireland into England's territory. It is not his fight, but he has to win it.

"We've got to go get the result that takes us to America," Charlton said, a cup of tea steaming from ooe hand
and a cigarette burning from the other. "We know what
we've got to do, and now we're going to try to do it. If it
works, it works. If it doesn't, it's not for want of trying." Born in a mining town in the north, near Newcastle. brother to England's greatest international scorer. Bobby Charlton, and eventually an English international defend-er himself, Charlton was hired in 1986 to reinvent Irish

soccer in his image. By 1988, he had taken Ireland to the

European Championship, where it upset England, 1-0.
The next year, Ireland qualified for its first World Cup finals, eventually reaching the 1990 quarterfinals against Italy, the host,

What was a downscale sport has in the past six years become unimaginably grand. A large audience here Sunday night for the fifth annual Football Association of Ireland awards dinner, televised live in the country, was

Last month it was thought that this would have been a celebration of the national side, which was expected to continue its winning streak of eight years at Lansdowne Road by beating Spain. The visitors, instead, scored three within a half-hour, and all of the planned celebrations were destroyed. What had appeared to be certain was now in doubt. The team appeared suddenly old. frail.

"We're all a bit anxious," Charlton said Monday. "We all want to win the game. Whether we win or not, we have

expression ranges from anger to joy. It is hard to imagine the look of fear upon him. His face isn't suited for that. The blank elegance of his black tie enframed him Sunday as he came down the steps to be interviewed for the benefit of his audience. Yes, he told them, "I think we're going to win."
It was what they wanted in hear, and what he wants in
do. Awards were handed out and he sat at his table with

was over. On the monitors all around the ballroom the credits began to roll, and the music plaved.
"We're coming to America." Neil Diamond was singing. "We're coming to America."

the grin of a father, sincere and proud, and then the show

The crowd was clapping along. They love Jack Charlton, and this was their hug with a slap on his back. Then one loving slap became like a thousand, and the applause took on the anxiety of a plea. Sitting in his chair, he knew the camera was aimed at him, but he couldn't help it. The joy leaked out from him, his smile was blank and he understood once and for all, absolutely. He has to win on Wednesday.

### NHL Says Officials' Strike Will Not Disrupt Schedule

NEW YORK — Unable to reach a settlement with the league, the National Hockey League Officials Association went on strike Mon-

Association rockey League Officials Association went on struce monday for the first time in its history.

The two sides met in New York on Sunday, but no progress was made to avert a walkout by referees and linesmen. Replacement officials were prepared to work three games Monday night — Montreal at Ottawa, Edmonton at Toronto and Winnipeg at Calgary.

The league intends to continue its schedule with mostly minor leagues and appropriate and former NHT referees. Many were

league and amateur officials and former NHL referees. Many were trained at a special camp set up by the NHL in anticipation of a

"It's going to be tough and we'll have to see how everyone handles it," said the New York Rangers' captain, Mark Messier. The NHL commissioner, Gary Bettman, said that the officials' association had demanded more than \$1.5 million in additional

salary and benefits each year.
"I am not paying \$1.5 million or anywhere near close to it,"

NHL negotiators released on Thesday what they said represented a final offer to the officials' association. The officials have been

### SIDELINES

### A 3d Bulgarian Lifter Wins Gold

MELBOURNE (AP) - Yoto Yotov continued Bulgaria's domination

of the men's events at the world weightlifting championships Monday night, sweeping all three gold medals in the 70-kilogram division.

Yotov, world champion in 1991, snatched 155 kilograms (341.75 pounds) and lifted 187.5. Ergun Batmaz of Torkey took the silver medal overall, ahead of Olympic bronze medalist Andreas Behm of Germany. Batmaz took silver in the snatch ahead of Vasii Vasiiev of Bulgaria. Behm took silver in the jerk ahead of Kim Hak-bong of South Korea.

Bulgaria now has won three of the four divisions contested so far in the men's competition. China has won three of the four women's classes.

Sun Caiyan of China, 19, earlier clinched her third successive world title, winning gold medals in all three sections of the women's 59-kilogram class. She hoisted 97.5 kilograms in the snatch and 120 in the clean-and-jerk. Gergens Kirilova of Bulgaria swept the silver medals. Maria Christoforidou of Greece took three bronze medals.

### **Cuba Says Officials Urge Defection**

PONCE, Puerto Rico (AP) — Cuba has accused the organizers of the Central American and Caribbean Games of encouraging Cuban athletes to defect, an organizing committee official said.

The complaint came one day after a Cuban diver left the Olympic Village in the southern town of Salinas. It was not known whether the diver, who was not identified; was seeking political asylum, Fernando Delgado, chief trainer of Puerto Rico's swimming team, said on Sunday. German Diaz, secretary-general of the organizing committee, said the Cuban Sports Ministry complained that employees and volunteers were talking with them about defection. Cuban officials that "several people told our athletes that they will help them in their efforts to stay here." Cuba is sending 575 athletes to the sames, which open Friday. Cuba is sending 575 athletes to the games, which open Friday.

### For the Record

Buenos Aires will stage a Formula One Grand Prix race on March 20, President Carlos Sani Menem said Monday. (Reuters)

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### Mattingly **Ties Gold Glove Mark**

NEW YORK - Don Mattingly of the New York Yankees caught up with George Scott for the most Gold Gloves by an American League first baseman, winning for the eighth time in awards announced Monday.

Second baseman Roberto Alomar and outfielder Devon White of the World Series champion Toronto Blue Jays, outfielder Ken Griffey Jr. of Seattle and pitcher Mark Langston of California were among seven of last year's winners to repeat.

Only the Seattle shortstop Omar Vizquel, who replaced Baltimore's Cal Ripken, and the Cleveland outfielder Kenny Lofton, who took the place of Minnesota's Kirby Puckett, were first-time winners.

The Texas catcher Ivan Rodrinez and Chicago's third baseman, Robin Ventura, filled out this

The National League winners will be announced Tuesday. The Gold Gloves are presented by Rawlings to the best fielders in baseball as chosen in a vote by es late in the regular season.

Mattingly matched Scott as the top winner at first base in the AL with his eighth award in nine years. The only time Mattingly missed out was 1990, when he was injured and Oakland's Mark McGwire won the award.

this year. He made only three errors in 1,345 total chances, include 84 assists.

Scott won in 1967-68 with Boston, and won again from 1971-76 while with the Red Sox and Milwaukee. Keith Hernandez bolds the record for the most Gold Gloves by a first baseman, winning 11 straight times from 1978 to '88 with the New York Mets and St.

White and Langston each won their fifth Gold Gloves. Griffey, also a center fielder, be-

came the first AL outfielder to win four straight Gold Gloves since Puckett in 1986-89.



Ulf Kirsten, left, and Andreas Brehme during the German soccer team's practice Monday for its friendly against Brazil on Wednesday in Cologne. Both teams have qualified for the 1994 World Cup.

### Mattingly, known for his quick throws, led major-league first baseman with a 998 fielding percentage U.K. Paper Offers Poles a Victory Reward

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

Wednesday, which would help England's chances of winning a World Cup berth.

needs against San Marino on Wednesday to qualify. over the Dutch were 8-to-1.

"If our double incentive does the trick, England will qualify for next year's big event in the United States," achieve a place in the finals, Ladbrokes has he said the Mirror, referring to the 24-nation World Cup the qualifying odds from 16-to-1 to 10-to-1.

to charity, but the Poles will be welcome to keep their Saudi Arabia and South Korea, which have already money, the Mirror said.

"The Mirror scheme will give the Poles a chance to a £10,000 (\$14,800) award for each member of the World Cup," the paper said. England drew, 1-1, with Polish soccer team if they beat the Netherlands on Poland in that game, keeping it out the Cup.

A spokesman for the Ladbrokes betting house in winning a World Cup berth.

Loudon, Ian Wassell, said England's chances of gaining a 7-0 result against San Marino in Bologna, Italy, English team £10,000 for each of the seven goals it were rated at 6-to-1, while the odds of a Polish victory

achieve a place in the finals, Ladbrokes has had to cut

The rival bookmaker William Hill has England a England's players will be asked to donate the cash 150-to-1 shot to win the World Cup, the same odds as qualified for the finals.

### Italy vs. Portugal: Showdown in Milan

By Ken Shulman

Special to the Herald Tribune
FLORENCE — A hard, windblown rain pelted the practice field at the Italian national soccer team's Coverciano training center and pattered against the windows of the dining room, where Arrigo Sacchi and his players quietly are lunch Monday. It had been a morning of rest, following Sunday's scrimmage against the Under-20 team of the local Fiorentina elub.

The atmosphere was only apparently calm. Beneath the surface flowed a palpahle electric current that charged the air. In just 48 hours, the Italian team will play its final, decisive World Cup qualify-

ing match, against Portugal. "This is a vital match, and the players feel it," said Sacchi, the team's coach since October 1991. "We are playing for the possibility of going to America. This is a great responsibility. And my players, who are used to being challenged,

are going to have to meet this chal-

lenge as well."

Italy and Portugal are tied atop
World Cup qualifying group one,
with 14 points and identical records. But Italy has a better goal aggregate, meaning that the Azcurri, as the Italians are called, can play for a draw on Wednesday in Milan's San Siro stadium. The Por-

Hallan's San Sho Stadium. The For-tinguese must play for a victory.
Failure to qualify for the 24-na-tion World Cup finals, which begin in the United States in June, would be an enormous serback for Italy. Only once has Italy missed the finals, in 1958 in Sweden. The Italians have won the Cup three times, most

recently in 1982 in Spain.

The Italian camp is generally confident about its 1994 hid. these boys," said the Italian federation president, Antonio Matarrese.

"This story can't end in any other way. Italy will qualify for the World Cup."

Yet the 22-month qualifying campaign hardly got off to a brilliant start. The team fell behind 2liant start. The team fell behind, 2-0, against Switzerland in its first match, clawing out a 2-2 draw in the second half. A few months later, Italy had to scramble to defeat

lowly Malta, 2-1.

machine that only lately has begun to resemble the AC Milan juggernaut that Sacchi piloted to two European Champions' Cup and two Intercontinental Cup triumphs.

Sacchi, who has always tried to create teams that not only win but that look good while doing so, has no intention of sending his team out for a stalemate on Wednesday.

"I have always expressed confi-dence in my players," he said, "and in our style of play. It would be pointless in profess this faith, and then change our lineup or strategy because of a particular situation or opponent."

We're going to play to win," he

For Franco Baresi, the 33-yearold sweeper and captain, who will be wearing his national team's blue jersey for the 72d time on Wednes-day, the match means a chance to play in a third World Cup.
"f will never forgive myself if we lose," said Baresi, who played in

the 1982 and 1990 competitions. A stalwart of the AC Milan team, he retired from the national squad a year ago but returned at the behest of Sacchi and Mattarese.

"I'm definitely leaving the national team after the World Cup," he added, "It means more to me to go to America than it does to anyone on the team. But we have to be careful. Portugal is going to play the match of its life."

Having to win at San Siro has left the Portuguese daunted.

"For us, it is like setting the bar at four meters when you are used to jumping only two," said Portugal's coach, Carlos Queiroz.

Portugal has only qualified for two World Cups, in 1966 and 1986. But the core of the current squad Under-20 world champion in 1989 and 1991. They have won their last five qualifying matches. English bookmakers list Portu-

gal as a 6-1 underdog. But Sacchi knows that the contest Wednesday will not be casy.

"At this moment, Portugal is behind us," said Sacchi, facing his most crucial game as Italy's coach. "They have nothing to lose. So they

can play all out. f hope that it will Sacchi has experimented with 64 players, doggedly plotting, assembling and then fine-tuning a seccer bling and then fine-tuning a seccer

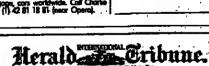
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### ART BUCHWALD

# The Opposition Leader

WASHINGTON — There was one thing I didn't like about the Clinton administration's decision to debate Ross Perot. What bothered me was not that they raised him from the dead, but that they set a new precedent for future political discussions.

Instead of asking an opposition senator or congressman to go up against the vice president, the Clin-

ton handlers let Perot speak for the other side of the NAFTA issue. They have to realize that now the door is open it's going to be impossible to keep Ross

The little Tex-Buchwald we in Washington like to call him. has been elevated to equal rank with the White House. There is no reason to assume that if he dis-cusses NAFTA today, he won't want to challenge Clinton's team to debate the health care bill, the balanced hudget and all the other subjects we thought had been dealt with since the election.

"This is Ross Perot. Tell the president that I'd like to take on Al Gore and get him to give me his whole mind about the crime hill next week."

"We're sorry. Ross. The vice president is not available. "He can't refuse. I am the acting opposition mouthpiece for the common man and the only one in the United States who will give it straight to the American people."
"Mr. Perot, the Republicans are

### A Fly in the Amber

Europe

Agence France-Presse LONDON — The fly was preserved in a piece of amber and was thought to be 38 million years old. Bought in 1922, it was kept as a specimen at the Natural History Museum. Alas for Jurassie movie fans, it was merely a 19th-century fly, the museum said after a doctoral student noticed a line across the piece of amber. He found a chunk of the stone was missing and con-cluded that the stone had been hroken to insert the fly and glue it in.

raise a national issue we invite you to debate it. Since you weren't even elected dogcatcher, they can't understand why you should get the

"There's always someone trying to get old Ross. Well, let me tell you something. I'm the only one who knows anything about anything in

this country, and I have my own colored graphs to prove it. Besides, I am the only civilian in this coun-try who can afford to buy television time . . . Don't interrupt me! "If you won't send me Al Gore, let me have a go at Dave Gergen. Vernon Jordan or Hillary. I would

even debate the grazing rights' bill with Barbra Streisand if Larry King would have us." "Ross, Mr. Clinton has great respect for you, but he is not going to

help make you into a future presidential candidate." "O. K., if he feels that way, I'll huy the time and declare war on Mexico. How do you feel about

"Don't get so upset. Would you settle for debating Secretary of State Warren Christopher on the situation in Somalia?" "I'd rather have the president"

"Well, you're not going to get the president. These debates have gone to your head. As far as we're concerned, you're a nobody who is trying to be a somebody by using up the administration's time on the Today' show.'

"You better take me seriously. A recent survey showed that more people knew Ross Perot than knew Mayor Dinkins. That should say something about me being a no-body. Incidentally, I would like to debate the issue as to whether I should be permitted to debate or

not . . . Let me finish."
"We'll get hack to you." "I'll be at Larry King's studio at 9 o'elock, You can send whomever you want. But I better warn you that I'll be loaded with graphs and photographs of the Rio Grande River. Let the American people decide who is more prepared to run this country — Bill Clinton from the inside or Ross Perot from the outside. It's time Americans had a reality check.

# Meet the Real Tom Waits, All of Them

By Robert Palmer C AN FRANCISCO - Tom Waits is sitting in limbo, dreaming of Harry's

Limbo is a Mexican café in downtown San Francisco; Harry's Harbor Bazaar is in Hamhurg, Germany, where the sing-er/songwriter/actor/composer collabo-rated with the director Robert Wilson and the author William S. Burroughs on "The Black Rider," a dark Teutonic fairy tale of

a pop opera. Waits, who is almost 44, looks remarkably fit for a fellow who was recently seen portraying a weathered alcoholic limousine driver in Robert Altman's new film "Short Cuts," and before that chewing bugs in Francis Ford Coppola's "Dracula." In his porkpie hat, hlack leather jacket,

white T-shirt, tattoos and motorcycle boots, he looks exactly like Tom Waits, the troubadour whose mid-70s albums, "The Heart of Salurday Night," "Nighthawks at the Diner" and "Small Change," celebrated a fugitive roadside America of short-order waitresses, beatniks and barflies, and established him as one of pop music's most distinctive voices.

Since then, Waits has grown as an artist, not only musically but as an actor and a composer for theater and film. Hamburg, and the traditional German foltrale that provided the starting point for "The Black Rider, "seem worlds away in space and time from the Kerouacian epiphanies of Waits's early work. But perhaps not; once he found Harry's Harbor Bazaar on the Hamburg

"It's a crude little junk shop," he says approvingly, "crude" is a positive word in Waits's vocabulary, "Sailors from all over the world, when they land in Hamburg, that's where they sell their \$2 guitars, stuffed snakes, zebra jackets. It's a real swampy place. You can huy insects from everywhere, under glass, in little boxes; elephant beetles the size of a child's shoe. It's all mildewed in there, full of weird musical instruments, half-decomposed haby giraffes stuffed with straw. They even had a shrunken head you could look at for, like, 2 marks. They advertise the shrunken head in the window; that's what hrings 'em in. Harry's rarely there; if he is, all the prices and deplad " all the prices are doubled."

Waits's eye for the specific image and the telling detail served him well on "The Black Rider," the variation on "Der Frei-schütz" ("The Free-Shooter"), the 1821 opera that Carl Maria von Weber also based on the folktale.

Imbued with a "Cabaret"-like carnival amhience, with many of the actors in whiteface, dark-eye makeup and somber 19th-century costumes, "The Black Rider" tells the story of Wilhelm, a clerk. To win Kät-



At the Limbo, Tom Waits dreams of Harry's Harbor Bazzar in Hamburg.

chen, a forester's daughter, he makes a pact with the Devil to learn how to shoot -with disastrous consequences. The nearly \$1 million production is playing at the Brooklyn Academy of Music Opera House.

March 1990. And thus, inevitably, Harry's Harbor Bazaar found its way into Waits's opening song, "Lucky Day (Overture)," which also kicks off his new album. In the "The Black Rider" had its world prestage production, the actors sing Waits's

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songs; on "The Black Rider" (Island), he sings them himself, with a memorable guest vocal by Burroughs on the opera's one nonoriginal number, a period piece called "Tain'i No Sin."

The album also includes some of the instrumental music Waits wrote for the show with the help of his arranger, Greg Cohen, music that is by turns gloomly nocturnal and nightmarishly lively, scored for banjo, bass clarinet, cello, Freach horn and other instruments not generally heard

in contemporary pop music and rock.

The overall effect, as strains of pop, vaudeville, rock, waltz and cabaret weave in and out with a hurdy-gurdy regularity, is a knowing wink at popular music and its

This is not such a dramatic departure for Waits. Ever since his film score for Coppola's "One From the Heart" (1982) and his own ground-breaking album "Swordfish-trombones" (1983), he has been resolutely broadening his musical palette, gravitating toward odd instru-ments and sonic textures.

His score for the Jim Jarmusch's film "Night on Earth" (1991) used some of the same instrumentalists and comparable, if somewhat brighter, sonic shadings. Several of the songs on his 1992 album "Bone Machine" were recorded in a shed and feature a group of musicians and friends, including his wife, Kathleen Brennan, beating on wood and metal with sticks.

The music on "Bone Machine," which won a Grammy as best alternative album of 1992, is more intimate than The Black Rider" but no less bracing or challenging. With these recordings, Waits, who basn't performed in concert since the shows captured on his live album "Big Time" (1988), has been creating a music that is beyond category — and beyond the scope of the character he portrayed in his early performances, the hard-drinking, gruff-voiced chronicler of bleak rooming house days and road-weary nights. Or was it a character?

Will the real Tom Waits please stand up? "To me, everything is really music words are music, every sound is music, it all depends on how it's organized. In terms of an actor's choices, all behavior is fair game, so why isn't all sound considered music? I so why isn't all sound considered mus really like the physicality of music-making and the possibility of human error. As much as you rehearse and perform it, the music never really wants to stay the same. You can make it do that, but then what you've got to do is respect the moments when it escapes your control."

Robert Palmer, a former chief pop music critic for The New York Times, produces blues records. He wrote this for The New

### **PEOPLE**

### Funny Girl, A to Z? The Story of Streisand

All about Barbra: "She stood in front of the bathroom mirror in Brooklyn at the age of 16. She was not a pretty girl, as her own mother reminded her often enough. Hers was not an ugly face, but an improb-able one." So begins the new, unan-thorized biography of Barbra Strei-sand, "Her Name is Barbra." Besides describing her road to fame, the writer, Randall Riese, also gos into Streisand's rivalry with her sister and her relationships, from ex-husband Effort Gould to tennis star Andre Agassi. Stressand refused to be interviewed, and the author expects her to be "livid."

The American novelist Paul Auster won France's Medicis prize for foreign literature on Monday for his best-selling novel "Leviathan," about a writer trying to piece together the mystery surrounding the death of an old friend. Emmanuele Bernheim won the prize for French fiction for her novel "Sa Femme" (His Wife).

Spoleto Festival U.S.A. has chosen Milton Rhodes, director of the American Council for the Arts in New York City, as its general man-ager. Festival officials recently accepted the resignation of the artis-tic director, Gian Carlo Menotti. who founded the festival in Charleston, South Carolina, in

The actress Michelle Pfeiffer has married David Kelley, a TV writer-producer. Pfeiffer's adopted 8-month-old daughter, Claudia Rose, was christened at the ceremony.

Jenn-MacArthur, the widow of General Douglas MacArthur, has received a medal from the Philippines, the country her husband liberated the from the Japanese dur-ing World War II. President Fidel V. Ramos gave the Legion of Merit to Mrs. MacArthur, 95, because of her "abiding faith in the enduring and warm bond of friendship between the Philippines and the United States."

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